

113, 539

Ukraine RD1

[For a brief analysis of the texts of old Ukrainian folk songs
see 7:Lineva, RF1 Great Russia, category 116, pp. 47-51.]

113, 533

Ukraine RD1

[For information pertaining to the musical form of Ukrainian songs, see 7: Lineva, RF1 Great Russia, category 116, p. 62.]

[For bibliographical references on the Ukraine, see 17: UNRRA, RD1 Ukraine, cat. 116, footnotes entire source]

[For information pertaining to the Ukrainian language, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet Union, category 116; pp. 118-119.]

113, 175, 795, 474

Ukraine RD1

[For information pertaining to Soviet policies in the Western Ukraine, particularly in regard to the Uniate Church and collectivization, see 26: Anonymous, R1 Soviet Union, Cat. 116.]

113, 13

Ukraine RD1

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna and soil of the forest steppe of the Ukraine, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 68-89. -- Analyst. /

113, 13

Ukraine RD1

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna and soil of the steppe of the Ukraine, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 90-110. --Analyst/

● 113, 642

Ukraine RD1

[For comparisons of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of January 30, 1937 as amended through November 21, 1949 with other constitutions of the Soviet Union, see 70: American Russian Institute, R1 Soviet Union, category 116.]

- 113 Several Ukrainian grammars have appeared in German, e. g.
814 "Studien auf dem Gebiete der ruthenischen Sprache" (Studies in Ruthenian) by P. Ogonovski, Lemberg 1880. St. Smal-Stotskyj and Th. Gärtner wrote the "Grammatik der ruthenischen Sprache" (Ruthenian Grammar), Vienna 1913. Two books that served practical purposes were M. Simovych's "Grammatik zum Selbstunterricht" (Grammar for Home Students) and Jaroslav Rudnytskyj's "Lehrbuch der ukrainischen Sprache" (Course in Ukrainian), Leipzig 1940.

B. Hrinchenko compiled the most important dictionary: "Slovar ukraijinskoji movy", Kyiv 1907—1909. The Russian-Ukrainian dictionary published under the auspices of the Ukrainian Academy by A. Krymskyj and S. Jefremov is said to be the best of its kind: "Rosijsko-ukraijinskyj slovnyk" (to the letter P) Kyiv, 1924—1928. A large Ukrainian-German dictionary appeared in 1943. It was compiled by Z. Kuzela and J. Rudnytskyj with the collaboration of Prof. Dr. K. H. Meyer and published by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute at Berlin. V. Kmitsykevych and V. Spilka published a German-Ukrainian dictionary (Czernovitz 1912); others were published by I. Sharovolskyj (Kyiv 1931) and H. Nakonetshna (Leipzig 1939).

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a combination of Mongol and earlier Polovtsy elements, was established behind the Volga and on the old ground of the Khazars. 175*

The date of the destruction of Kiev by the Mongols can be considered as the date marking the end of the period when 'meridial' forces linked the north and south of Russia together. In the thirteenth century the pressure from the east had become incomparably greater than it had been during the eleventh and twelfth centuries; it had overwhelmed the Russia of the fluvial states. A reaction against the pressure from the east was coming and it came, naturally, from the west. But the western forces, as those from the east, acted in a 'latitudinal' direction and tended to be destructive of any renewal of 'meridial' development. (15)

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113●

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(5) *On the Varangians and on the Fluvial Trade Routes*

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(6) On the term 'Rus' in Western sources

In the St Bertin Annals of the year 839 Bishop Prudentius writes about certain men who accompanied the envoys of the Emperor Theophilus on an embassy to the Emperor Louis the Pious: 'qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant, quos rex illorum, Chacanus vocabulo, ad se amicitiae, sicut asserebant, causa direxerat.' When the Emperor Louis began to ask who they were, he gathered from their answers that they were Swedes: 'comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum.' *M.G.H.* 1, p. 434.

Luitprand of Cremona, about the year 970, writes: 'Rusios, quos alio nomine Nordmannos appellamus.'

In Arab sources

Numerous Arab writers mention 'Rus' or the 'King of Rus' or the Rus 'Kagan' (e.g. Ibn Rusta and Gardizi). The latter: 'Many men among the Slavs go over to the Rus and serve them in order to be under their protection.'

See A. Harkavy, *Shkazaniya Musulmanskikh Pisateley o Rossii* (Statements of Moslem writers concerning Russia), Petersburg, 1870.

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Cf. also S. Rapoport, 'Mohammedan Writers on the Slavs and Russians', in *Slavonic Review*, vol. viii, no. 22.

(7) On Kievan Russia

Courses of Russian history by V. Klyuchevski, Moscow, 1923; S. Platonov, Petersburg, 1917; M. Lyubavski, Moscow, 1913; E. Schmurlo, Praha, 1931; also M. Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine*, Kiev, 1913 (Ukr.); D. Doroshenko, *Outline of the History of Ukraine*, Warsaw, 1932 (Ukr.).

(8) On the Nomads and Kiev

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For an understanding of the role of the Altaian nomads in medieval Russia it is essential to read Boswell's brilliant study. 'The Arabs and the Georgians alone called the Kipchaks by their proper name. It appears in Western sources for the first time in Edrisi, who refers to the original Kipchak in Asia, after a detailed description of Comania. While the Greeks called the Kipchaks "Comans" the Saxons of Transylvania called them Valvi, or Falben, i.e. "sallow people". The Russians called them Pólovtsy, which some philologists derive from *polóvy* (*pálevy*), "sallow" but which is generally taken to mean "steppe folk" from *póle*, "field", i.e. it is a translation of the Turkish "Kipchak". (These Kipchaks should be distinguished from the Golden Horde, v, p. 42.)

'The main facts of Cuman history are quite clear, and their importance is undeniable. It is difficult to conceive of a successful Mongol penetration of Central Europe, if a great part of Eastern Europe had not been peopled by a Turkish folk not undisposed to welcome distinguished invaders with similar Turanian traditions of nomadic life, of rapacity and of unity under a despot. 175*

'Kiev, Pereyaslavl and Chernigov lay near the southern frontier and were permanently exposed to the incursions of the crafty Turks. For their periodic migrations north and south they found the rich pastures of the Ozu, as they called the Dniepr, most congenial; and on the rich grasslands up the river, they found the Russians firmly established and beginning to practise agriculture. The eternal struggle of settled and pastoral folk was long and obstinate in this region, and the Kipchaks came to regard the capital of this coveted territory, Menkerman, "the great city" (as they called Kiev) as the centre of their world.'

After the victories of Vladimir Monomakh, according to Boswell, large numbers of the nomads left the steppe and transferred their allegiance to the Russian princes. They settled in parts of Chernigov and all over the lands of Pereyaslavl. 'In the usual Turkish fashion these petty tribes soon became merged in a new federation of Turks, who took the name of Karakalpaks or Blackcaps.'

'They even became an important factor in Russian political life; and we find the election of a prince carried out not only by Russians, but "by the Russian land and the Blackcaps". It is a matter for debate whether the exodus of Russian peasants to the north-east was not due to the peaceful penetration of these barbarians, as much as to the external pressure of the Kipchaks. In the bitter civil strife of the twelfth century, a Russian prince found these mobile horsemen more valuable subjects than the peaceful Russian peasants. The changed conditions on the frontier stand out sharply when we find a Blackcap Khan like Kuntuvdey invested with a Russian appanage on the River Ros. Finally at the time of the Mongol invasion we hear of a shadowy Izyaslav of Chernigov who is purely a Turkish chieftain. The process was inevitable, and no one can doubt that the weakening of the Russian element in the south was an accomplished fact before the Mongol conquest.... Apart from ancient cities like Tmutarakan, Oleshye, Cherson and Caffa, which were for a time Slav, and became Greek and then Genoese, we see the rise of a mixed population in the steppes, like the Cossacks of later times. The princes of Berlad and Bolkhov and the Brodniki of the Upper Don and of Moldavia represent semi-Slav communities with an admixture of Turk, Roumanian and other nationalities.'

The latest work is by D. A. Rasovski, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, vols. VII-XI, 1935-40, 'Polovtsy'. 173●

(9) On the Russian Chronicles

Shakhmatov, A. *Rozyskaniya o Drevneyshikh Russkikh Letopisnykh Svodakh* (Researches concerning the oldest Russian Corpora of Chronicles). Also his critical edition of 'The Record of Passing Years', Petersburg, 1916.

113 Chronicles existed in Russia at a very early date. The most ancient Kievan Corpus dates from 1039, and the Novgorod Chronicle from 1017; the oldest Polish Chronicle from the end of the eleventh century, and the oldest Hungarian ones from the thirteenth century. The most ancient Russian Chronicles are only known in copies of a later period; the Lavrentiev copy of 1377, and the Ipatiev of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. In the Ipatiev copy the chronicle of events in South Russia is continued until 1292.

(10) *On the Right of the Princes*

Presnyakov, A. *Knyazhee Pravo v Drevney Rusi* (The Prince's Right in Ancient Russia), Petersburg, 1909.

The chief Prince, whether of Kiev or later of Moscow or Lithuania, is often called in the west 'Grand Duke', but 'Great Prince' best renders his title of *Veliki Knyaz*, *Wielki Książę*.

(11) *On Byzantium and the Kievan State*

Schlumberger, G. *Nicéphore Phocas*, Paris, 1890; *L'Épopée Byzantine*, Paris, 1896-1905.

Vasiliev, A. *History of the Byzantine Empire*, vol. 1, University of Wisconsin, 1928.

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(12) *On Novgorod and Pskov*

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(13) *On the Rise of the Principality of Vladimir-Suzdal*

In addition to the standard Russian histories mentioned above see:

Lyubavski, M. *Obrazovanie Osnovnoy Gosudarstvennoy Territorii Velikorussoy Narodnosti* (The Formation of the Original State Territory of the Great Russian People), Leningrad, 1929.

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(14) *On the Relations between Church and State in Medieval Russia*

Goetz, L. *Staat und Kirche in Altrussland (988-1240)*, Berlin, 1928.

(15) *On the Mongol Invasion*

The Mongol Invasion was described by a contemporary under the title of 'The Tale of the Ruin of the Russian Land'. Unfortunately only a small fragment has been preserved. It is in the spirit of 'The Tale of Igor's Host'.

For a recent summary, see H. T. Cheshire, 'The Great Tartar Invasion of Europe', in *Slavonic Review*, vol. v, no. 13.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND ADDITIONS
TO CHAPTER II

On the History of the Russo-Lithuanian State

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For an appreciation of the relations of Lithuania, South Russia and Poland with neighbouring countries during the period under review the following chapters of the *Cambridge Mediaeval History* should also be consulted:

- Vol. VI, Bruce-Boswell, A., 'Poland (1050-1303)'; vol. VII, *idem*, 'The Teutonic Order'; vol. VIII, *idem*, 'Poland and Lithuania in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries'.

The following general works also contain excellent chapters on the historical role of Poland and Lithuania during the period under review:

- Bruce-Boswell, A. *Poland and the Poles*, London, 1919.
Dyboski, R. *Outlines of Polish History*, London, 1925.
Halecki, O. *La Pologne de 963 à 1914; Essai de Synthèse Historique*, Paris, 1933.

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(1) *On the Destruction of Kiev and the Devastation of
Kievan lands by the Tartars*

Ukrainian historians (e.g. Doroshenko) endeavour to deny the complete devastation of Kiev and Kievan lands after the invasion of Batu in 1240. Here their views are in direct opposition to those of Polish and Russian historians. In 1857 M. Maksimovich went so far as to compose a work 'On the supposed devastation of Ukraina by Batu's invasion'. This tendency of Ukrainian historians is explained by the desire to establish that Ukraina was not re-peopled by newcomers from the west during the sixteenth century, and that the majority of the population of the land is descended from these

175* who had survived the Mongol devastations. The view is not, however, really confirmed by Ukrainian historians themselves, in that they describe facts concerning the conditions in the Dniepr region during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which justify the 'immigration theory'.

(2) *On the West Russian State in Galicia*

- 113 Dashkevich, N. *Knyazhenie Daniila Galitskago po Russkim i Inostrannym Istochnikam* (The Reign of Daniel of Galicia according to Russian and Foreign Sources), Kiev, 1873.
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(3) *On Daniel of Galicia*

175* The personality of Daniel of Galicia appears to have been attractive, although he did not prove to be one of the great leaders of his difficult time. 'Courageous and fearless, generous and kind-hearted to the point of being naive, Daniel was a politician least of all' (Shmurlo). Tomashivsky calls Daniel 'an intelligent, chivalrous, cultured, humane and energetic prince'.

(4) *On the Galician Chronicle*

The principal source for the history of Galicia and Volhynia in the thirteenth century is the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, an anonymous work which embraces the period from 1209 to 1292. The Chronicle is written in a vivid and rather flowery style. It contains many picturesque episodes, and is ornamented with poetical comparisons and allegories which indicate that the author was familiar with Classical and European medieval literature.

The chronicler writes with sympathy of Prince Daniel and refers thus to his relations with the *boyars*: 'The Galician *boyars* called Daniel their Prince but in reality they ruled the whole land themselves.'

(5) *On the Annexation of Galicia to Poland*

Doroshenko writes: 'In the fourteenth century Galicia was politically disorganized, and, though culturally on the same level as Poland, was much weaker than the latter. She lacked inner stability and suffered from the feuds of the *boyars* and the absence of a strong central power.'

Until 1434-5 the Poles allowed the old order of things to remain (*tempus juris Ruthenorum*). After 1430, however, Jagiello granted to the Galician nobility the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Polish nobility. At the same time the Polish King began to grant wide lands in Galicia to his Polish favourites, and the Galician *boyars* came under the influence of and were rapidly absorbed into the world of their Polish neighbours. 'A great part of them were swept away by the wave of Polish colonization and returned to

their primary origin—the people' (Efimenko). In the sixteenth century, according to Hrushevsky, there remained no noble Galician families who retained their Russian or Ukrainian nationality. At the same time as the Polish gentry were overflowing the countryside, the towns were being populated by Germans and Jews. Under the Magdeburg Law municipal power was in the hands of the Catholics—Poles and Germans. The former Russian urban population was gradually eliminated from the towns and lost among the peasantry. (See A. Halban, *Zur Geschichte d. Deutschen Rechts in Podolien, Volhynien und Ukraina*, Berlin, 1896.)

(6) *On the Rivalry between Muscovy and the Russo-Lithuanian State*

The rivalry between Olgerd and Dmitri Donskoy did not prevent Russo-Lithuanian detachments—who were much better trained than the Muscovite militia of the day—from taking part against the Tartars on the famous field of Kulikovo. A decisive role was played in the battle by a certain 'Volhynian Voyevode Bobrok', who was the initiator of the manoeuvre which decided the day in favour of the Russians.

An original view is taken of the relations between Lithuania and Muscovy by a group of Russian historians and publicists who call themselves 'Eurasians'. The ideology of the Eurasians is based on the affirmation that the Moscow State owed the whole of its interior structure and rapid external expansion to the example of 'the great Mongolian Empire'. Russia is considered only as a projection of the 'Eurasian State' created by the Mongols. In the opinion of the Eurasian school, the Mongols who defeated Vitovt in 1399 rendered Russia a great service because they undermined 'the pressure of Latinism in the East'. (See articles by Trubetskoy, Savitski, Vernadski and others, and for a summary of the Eurasian theory see article by Prince D. S. Mirsky in *Slavonic Review*, vol. vi, no. 17.)

(7) *On Vitovt*

Barbashev, A. *Vitovt i ego Politika do Grunvaldskoy Bitvy* (Vitovt and his Policy to the Battle of Grünwald), Petersburg, 1885.

Idem. *Vitovt: Poslednie 20 let Knyazhenya* (Vitovt: the Last Twenty Years of his Rule), Petersburg, 1891.

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In C.M.H., vol. viii, Bruce-Boswell gives a good description of the campaign of Grünwald-Tannenberg. 'The complete army was of imposing size and unusual diversity. Alongside the Polish knights and the clan groups, each with its common arms and slogan, rode thousands of Tartars under Soldan, soon to be Khan of the Golden Horde. Martial Lithuanians marched side by side with sturdy Czech mercenaries who were destined to astonish the world. The model of Polish chivalry, Zawisza the Black, was in striking contrast to the turbulent Russian boyars or the rude skin-clad Samogitians.'

(8) *On Tokhtamish and Tamerlane*

Articles in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* under names Tokhtamish and Timur Leng by W. Barthold and L. Bouvat respectively. The latter erroneously states that Tamerlane 'occupied Moscow for over a year'.

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* 175 For the influence of events in Georgia and the Caucasus on Tamerlane's movements in Kipchak, see W. E. D. Allen, *History of the Georgian People*, where the connection between Tamerlane's campaigns in Georgia and his policy in Kipchak and Turkey is not sufficiently emphasized, and V. F. Minorsky, 'Transcaucasica', in *Journal Asiatique*, 1930, Juillet-Sept. pp. 41-111.

Tokhtamish, originally a lieutenant of Tamerlane, appeared from behind the Volga with a part of the Kirghiz 'Blue Horde'. He completed the downfall of Mamay after the defeat of the latter at Kulikovo in 1380. In 1382 he sacked Moscow. According to contemporary sources he was a just and vigorous ruler; he is also said to have been a handsome man (Barthold). In the years following his usurpation of the Golden Horde and his defeat of Dmitri Donskoy, he came into conflict with Tamerlane in Central Asia (Khvarism) and in the eastern Caucasus. Tamerlane, in his campaign of 1395, reached the region of the upper Don; and he rendered a signal service to the Muscovites when he devastated the encampments of the Blue Horde and destroyed Saray on the Volga—the old capital of the Golden Horde. The Kirghiz Blue Horde did not rally after the blow, and retired first beyond the Volga, and later behind the Ural.

The empire of the Golden Horde which Béréké established had lasted for a little over a century. In the fifteenth century, following the attacks of Tamerlane, it became divided into three parts governed by three different Khans—The Golden Horde proper (Kazan), the Crimea, and Nogay (with a capital at Astrakhan).

(9) *Casimir the Jagiellon*

He showed tolerance towards the Greek Orthodox Church. In the chapel of the Holy Cross in the cathedral of Cracow—where his grave is—there are frescoes dating from the end of the fifteenth century painted by Russian masters in the Russo-Byzantine style. Similar frescoes can be seen in Lublin, Sandomierz and other Catholic churches in Poland of the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries.

(10) *On the Discovery of 'Moscovia'*

'The Discovery' of 'Moscovia' was first made by Ritter Poppel and other foreigners, mostly military men, during the reign of Ivan III (1462-1505). Until his visit there, Poppel regarded 'Moscovia' as a remote dependency of the Polish kings.

The most celebrated description of the period is that of Sigismund von Herberstein, who was sent on two missions (1517 and 1526) to the court of Vasili III. His book was published only in 1549.

The German powers soon became conscious of the possibilities of exploiting antagonism between Muscovy and Poland. In the first decade of the sixteenth century the Hohenzollern Grand Master of the Teutonic Order was sending arms and military organizers to Moscow; while, at the Congress of Vienna in 1515, the Poles were concerned to secure the withdrawal of Habsburg support from Vasili III. In the seventies of the sixteenth century the intrigues of the city of Danzig with Ivan IV forced the intervention of the Polish king Stephen Báthory, and in 1581, Ivan, after the victories of Báthory in Russia, sought the intervention of both the Emperor and the Pope.

(11) *On the Muscovite Tsars as 'Descendants of Augustus' and on the Lithuanians as 'Italians'*

The Lithuanians shared with Ivan III a desire to seek ancestors in the Classical world. At Luts'k, in 1429, during Vitovt's entertainment of the Emperor Sigismund, the Lithuanian nobles declared to the Emperor that 'the Poles were not nobles before but just simple folk who had bought their coats of arms from the Czechs, while the Lithuanian nobility was the old Roman nobility, their ancestors having come from Italy'. The chronicler relates that the Emperor replied that 'we know ourselves that you are the descendants of the old Roman nobles'. (*Chronicle of Bykhovets*, cited by Lappo.) 113* 175*

(12) *On the Lithuanian Statute*

The first Lithuanian Statute was established in the year 1529. Considerable alterations were introduced into the second version published in the year 1566. It was only then that the political and social privileges of the Lithuanian gentry were definitely confirmed. After the Lublin Union other alterations in the Statute became necessary, and its last and final version was approved by Stephen Báthory and adopted in the year 1588. All three texts of the Lithuanian Statute were written in Russian.

(13) *On the Union of Lublin*

Maksimeyko, N. *Seymy Litovsko-Russkago Gosudarstva do Lublinskoy Unii* (The Seyms of the Russo-Lithuanian State to the Union of Lublin), Kharkov, 1902.

Halecki, O. *Dzieje Unii Jagiellońskiej* (History of the Jagellonian Union), Cracow, 1919-20.

Kutrzeba, S. *Unia Polska z Litwą* (The Union of Poland and Lithuania), Cracow, 1914.

The Minutes of the Lublin Seym were written in Russian.

(14) *On 'Rzecz Pospolita' (= Res publica)*

The Lublin Union of 1569 created out of the Kingdom of Poland and the Great Principality of Lithuania (and the Duchy of East Prussia) one common state 'Rzecz Pospolita'. The fusion of two different states and two different dominant nationalities was completed. A single ruler, the King of Poland, who was at the same time Great Prince of Lithuania, was elected in full session by the *Rada* (Senate), and the nobility of Poland and Lithuania. During his coronation at Cracow he confirmed the rights and privileges of both nations, the Poles and the Russo-Lithuanians, and swore to maintain those rights and privileges. But the Russo-Lithuanian state (with the exception of the Ukrainian provinces which were severed from it and incorporated in Poland) retained a separate administration, its own seal, its Lithuanian Statute, and its separate army and budget. 'One cannot but note the vital contradiction at the basis of which are two absolutely opposite ideas—of a unitary and of a federative state. This was the result of the contradictory tendencies and wishes brought to the Lublin Seym by the representatives of Poland and of the Russo-Lithuanian state' (Lappo).

who was still on the right bank of the Dniepr, was expected. He arrived on 6 January, accompanied by the Cossack General Secretary Vyhovsky and many colonels and *starosty*. On the following day Khmelnytsky visited the Muscovite envoys 'quite privately'. On the 8th all the colonels and *starosty* gathered at Khmelnytsky's quarters for a secret council, and later in the day the *Rada* met, when a great number of Cossacks of different ranks and callings were present. The Hetman made a speech at which he stated that a choice had to be made between the four monarchs—the King of Poland, the Sultan of Turkey, the Khan of the Crimea and the Tsar of Muscovy. The decision of the Hetman and the *starosty* was known already, and the *Rada* answered by acclamation: 'We want to go to the Tsar who belongs to the Eastern Orthodox Faith. God help us, God make us strong and united for all time!'

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The following rather antiquated studies, which contain many errors and inexactitudes, still merit reference:

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Markovich, N. *Istoriya Malorossii* (History of Russia Minor), Moscow, 1842.

(1) *On the 'Wilderness' and its Population*

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 113 Herberstein calls Putivl a frontier town 'from whence travellers sally forth on their journeys through the Wilderness to the Crimea, called Tauris in Latin'. Kursk, which had existed in the days of Kiëvan Russia, was refounded and rebuilt towards the end of the fifteenth century. The place where it had formerly stood was covered with dense forest.

It is probable that at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries isolated settlements of Russians had been established along the upper courses of the Seym, the Psiol and the Vorskla—where they had intermixed with Turkish nomads. Doroshenko remarks on the Turkish type of the population in certain localities of the Poltava region.

(2) *On the Origin of the Cossacks*

One of the earliest authors who treated of the origin of the Ukrainian Cossacks proved to be nearest to the truth. This was Martin Bielski, a Protestant, the nephew of a Cossack *starosta*, and the author of *Kronika Polska*—written in the year 1597. In Bielski's view the Cossacks were formed from the lower classes of the original Ukrainian population. This idea was shared by the French military engineer Beauplan, author of *Description de l'Ukraine* (seventeenth century). Some fantastic theories on the subject of Cossack origins were adumbrated by writers of the seventeenth, eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries. Pyasetski and Kakhovsky derive the name Cossack from the fact that in battle 'they were as light and agile as wild goats' (Russian, *koza*). Hrabynka, a Cossack writer of the eighteenth century, held that the Cossacks were the descendants of the Khazars, and another, Simonovsky, affirmed that they originated from the Caucasians on the ground that in the region of the Caucasus is Hyrcania and that *hircus* means 'goat' (*koza*).

The belief that the Cossacks were not of Slavonic origin was widespread in the nineteenth century. Russian historians like Karamzin, Miller and Soloviëv sought their origin in the Kara-Kalpaks; others from the Turks or from the Polovtsy. Bantysh-Kamenski regarded them as Circassians who had settled on the Dniepr (there was certainly a substantial Circassian element established as far west as the Crimea, see Markov, *Ocherki Kryma*, pp. 417 *et seq.*). Recently Lyubavski expressed the view that the Cossacks were Russified Tartars.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Antonovich and Kulish elaborated the theory that the Cossacks did not owe their characteristic individuality to any ethnic particularities but to certain special social conditions. This theory is accepted by most of the modern historians of the Ukraine.

Jablonowski, the Polish historian of the Ukraine, came to the following conclusion: 'At the end of the fifteenth century Lithuanian princes who had settled in Kiev attracted to the border regions Tartars who entered their service and who were joined by people who were descendants of "wanderers" (*brodniki*), who had been scattered over the steppe since the twelfth century. Amongst these could have been Turks and Kara-Kalpaks. In the sixteenth century the Slav element begins to predominate decidedly, and

then was formed the special nationality of the Ukraine which colonized the steppe.

Ukrainian Cossacks 'appear in history' at a comparatively late date—about 1500. The historians of the Don Cossacks, probably with some justice, attribute the origin of the Don Cossacks to the pre-Mongol period and affirm their service with the Golden Horde. They contend that the parishioners of the Orthodox Diocese, founded by Khan Beréké at Saray and called 'the Diocese of Saray and the Don', were mostly Cossacks who had settled along the rivers Don and Khoper. (See Bykadorov, *Istoriya Kazachestva* (History of Cossackdom), vol. 1, Praha, 1930.)

(3) *On the Ryazan Tartars and the Ryazan Cossacks*

Among the Ryazan Cossacks who undertook sentry service along the borders of Muscovy were doubtless many Tartars. In the year 1452 Vasilii II invited Tartars to settle along the Oka in the lands of the wild Finnic Meshchera. Along with these Tartars came their *mirzas* or princes, including Kasim, a member of the royal house of Kazan (and founder of the Kasimov principality, see bibliographical note under 'Kasimov' in E.I.). During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Muscovite rulers accorded a willing welcome to Tartar nobles and made them grants of land. Between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries official documents mention about 120 noble families of Tartar descent, among whom are the Apraxins, Bakhmetievs, Bibikovs, Golovins, Muratovs, Naryshkins, Saburovs, Turgenevs, Uvarovs, Urusovs and Yusupovs. The prevalent notion in the West that the Tartar element is stronger in the north of Russia than in the south is incorrect. For polemical reasons Polish and Ukrainian propagandists have repeatedly described the Muscovites as 'rather Tartars than Slavs'. Actually in the peasant population of Northern and North-Eastern Russia there is a strong strain of Finnic blood, and in many localities the Finnish ethnic element predominates over the Slav. As for the Tartar strain, it is not so much Mongol as Turk (it is estimated that even in the horde of Chingiz the proportions were one-third Mongol and two-thirds Turk). The Tartar element is more noticeable in the southern than in the northern rural population.

(4) *On the Southern Border of the Muscovite State in the Sixteenth Century*

About the year 1550 the border ran in a north-east to south-west direction from Sviyazhsk on the Volga through Alaty, Temnikov, Ryazhsk, Pronsk, Epiphany, Novosil, Mtsensk, Novgorod-Seversk, Rylysk, Putivl to Chernigov.

(5) *On Dmitri Vishnevetsky ('Bayda')*

The popular song about 'Bayda'—Prince Dmitri Vishnevetsky, who was the first Zaporogian Hetman—begins with the words: 'In Tsargrad, on the market-place, Bayda sits and drinks his vodka.' It goes on to relate that the Sultan tried to persuade Bayda to become 'his true and faithful knight', promising to reward him by giving him 'a little princess in marriage' and making him the lord of all 'little Ukraine'. Bayda, however, tells the

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175* Sultan that both his faith and his little princess are unclean. The irate Sultan thereupon exclaims: 'Good people, take Bayda and hang him on a hook by the rib.' (Kashchenko, *Opovidannya pro slavnoye voysko Zaporozhshke* (Tales of the Zaporogian Sech), Leipzig, 1923 (Ukr.)

(6) *On the Turkish Volga Campaign of 1569 and the Raids of the Crim Tartars on Moscow in 1570-1*

The Turks regarded the Tartar Khanates of Astrakhan and Kazan as their vassals, and Mehmed Sökölü appears to have fully recognized the significance of the expansion of Muscovite power down the Volga. Azov, situated at the mouth of the Don, became the base for a formidable Turkish military expedition to Astrakhan. The Turkish army advanced along the Don and the sparse settlements of the Don Cossacks were suppressed. Work on the canal which was to link the Don with the Volga was at the same time begun. The siege of Astrakhan, however, ended in disaster. The moment had been judiciously chosen; the Muscovites had been exhausted by the Livonian War and by the struggle of Ivan IV with the *Boyars*. In the following two years, 1570-1, the Crim Tartars made two raids on Moscow, during which they crossed the Oka and burnt the suburbs of the capital. Many thousands of men and women were carried off to slavery in the Crimea.

For the Turkish campaign on the Don and Volga see von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. vi; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. iii. For the effect on the internal situation in Muscovy of the Crimean raids of 1570-1, and for their influence on the external policy of Ivan IV, see Pares, *A History of Russia*, chap. vi. The Turkish naval defeat at Lepanto (1570) undoubtedly had a negative influence on Sökölü's Black Sea policy during the following years; but the invasion of Georgia and Daghestan in 1578 was probably in part designed to check further Russian expansion in the Caspio-Volga region.

(7) *On Life in the Zaporogian Sech*

Gogol, the greatest Ukrainian literary figure (who incidentally wrote in Russian), gives an attractive description of the Zaporogian *Sech* in his romance entitled *Taras Bulba*. The *Sech*, founded by Dmitri Vishnevetsky on the island of Khortytza, was later transferred to other islands in the Dniepr (although for a time it again returned to Khortytza). The *Sech* was a fortified camp surrounded by trenches and moats. The moats themselves were defended by stockades of tree-trunks (in Russian, *zaseki*, from which the name *Sech* was derived). Stiff hedges built of dried branches and clay constituted an inner line. Two gates gave entry. Within the hedge-wall were built long huts or *kurenyi* (with which it is interesting to compare the communal huts of the Circassians where the English travellers Longworth and Bell found lodging during their travels in Circassia during the second quarter of the nineteenth century). These *kurenyi* were covered with reeds. Here the Cossacks lived—a hundred or several hundred men in each. In normal times there were thirty-eight of these huts, which were named after different Ukrainian towns or after famous Zaporogians. Apart from the living quarters there were a 'chancellery', an arsenal and food magazines;

and in the seventeenth century the church of Our Lady's Protection was built. Beyond the gates of the *Sech* was a market-place with shops and taverns. There travellers were allowed to lodge—Russians, Armenians and Jews—and, in time of peace, Turks and Tartars. The outer market was a kind of trading centre where the booty won on campaigns could be sold. There was also a small river harbour which was visited by Turkish, Greek and Italian ships. 175*

Once a year each of the *kurenys* elected its *ataman*, and all the *kurenys* together, in other words the *Rada*, elected the Hetman and also all men who had to fill posts in the administration. All important matters were decided by the *Rada*. At the end of the winter lots were drawn to decide who among the Cossacks were to prepare for campaign, who were to remain to defend the *Sech*, and who were to go off on hunting and fishing expeditions. Booty was divided into two equal parts. One part went to the treasury of the *Sech*, and the other, after withdrawing what was destined for the *Sech* Church and for certain monasteries which were supported by the Zaporogians, was divided equally between all the Cossacks—both those who had taken part in the campaign and those who had remained behind for defence and supplies.

Every Zaporogian was free to leave the *Sech* whenever he wanted to do so. He might also leave the *Sech* for a time and return later. Entry into the *Sech* was confined to the following simple question and answer: the Hetman would ask a candidate: 'Dost thou believe in God?' and if the man answered 'Yes', he would be told to cross himself, and if he crossed himself it was considered a sufficient proof that he was a Christian. After that no one asked him who he was, from where he was or why he had come to the *Sech*. The majority of Zaporogians were of Ukrainian origin; but there were many who had come out of Muscovy and White Russia and a certain proportion of all sorts of nationalities.

The Hetman was the "headman" of the free Cossacks, but also in Poland and Lithuania the S.I.C. was called Grand Crown Hetman.

Ataman, Ukr. *otaman*, seems to be the same word, but is applied to minor chiefs, e.g. of *kurenys* or small gangs.

(8) *On Church History and the Union of the Churches*

Titov, T. *Russkaya Pravoslavnaya Tserkov v Polsko-Litovskom Gosudarstve* (The Russian Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian State), vols. I-III, Kiev, 1905. 113

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See also two articles in the *Slavonic Review*: K. Gorski, 'Some Aspects of the Polish Reformation', vol. IX, no. 27; J. Mirtshuk, 'The Ukrainian Uniat Church', vol. X, no. 29.

(9) *On the Early Cossack Insurrections*

Domanitsky, V. *Kozachchina na Perelomī XVI-XVII Stoletiy (1591-1603)* (Cossackdom at the turn of the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries), Lvov, 1904 (Ukr.).

Nikolaychik, F. *Pervyya Kozatskyya Vozstaniya v Rechi Pospolitoj* (First Cossack Risings in Rzecz Pospolita), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1884.

Antoni, D. *Naliwajko: Opowiadanie Hystoryczne* (Nalyvayko: A Historical Narrative), Warszawa, 1882 (Pol.).

(10) *On Ivan Podkova*

175* 113 In 1574 the Moldavian Hospodar Ion (John) III ('The Terrible' or 'The Armenian') appealed to King Stephen Báthory for help against the Turks. A Polish noble, another John, Swirgowski, with or without the knowledge of the Polish authorities, gathered a troop of Zaporogian Cossacks and entered Moldavia. The Cossacks were at first victorious, but were finally defeated by the Turks and their nominee Peter III the Lamé; both Johns were killed. Three years later, the Moldavians called in the Cossacks to help in a revolt against Peter. Among the Zaporogians who rode into Moldavia was a certain Ivan Podkova who gave himself out to be a brother of the deceased Hospodar Ion III (the cognomen of Podkova ('horseshoe' in Russian) was given him on account of his great strength because he could break horse-shoes with his hands). With 600 of the Zaporogians Podkova crossed the Dniestr and was proclaimed Hospodar in Jassy, where he established himself in great pomp. But Stephen Báthory, fearing war with the Turks, ordered Podkova to quit Moldavia; he was later arrested in Poland and beheaded in Lvov in the presence of the Turkish ambassador.

Cf. also Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. III, and *Histoire des Roumains et de leur Civilisation*, Bucharest, 1922.

A valuable biography of Stephen Báthory has recently been published as the joint work of the Polish and Hungarian Academies: *Étienne Bathory, Roi de Pologne, Prince de Transylvanie*, Cracow, 1935. See also, *Revue du Sud-Est Européen*, vol. VII, nos. 1-3, 'Moldavie et Pologne au commencement du XVIII^e siècle', and other articles on Roumano-Polish relations.

(11) *Samuel Kishka: Popular Songs*

The Zaporogian Samuel Kishka ('the Cat') is the hero of the longest historical song of the Ukrainian people. It relates, with a great many details, how Samuel Kishka, after languishing for long years in captivity among the Turks, seized the galley in which he worked with other Ukrainian prisoners and brought it to the mouth of the Dniepr, where he met a band of Zaporogians about to set out on a sea raid. These songs were composed and sung by the *kobzars*—old men, often blind, who wandered round the Ukraine, going from one village to another, singing, or rather declaiming, about deeds done long ago, to the accompaniment of the plaintive notes of the

kobza, a very primitive chord instrument. These *kobzars* continued to survive in the Ukraine until the Revolution. As a social phenomenon they may be compared to the Irish bards who flourished in the Gaelic-speaking villages and Jacobite country-houses of eighteenth-century Ireland and who survived even into the early decades of the nineteenth century (for the spirit of this late bardic world of the hedgerows, read Donn Byrne's 'Blind Raftery').

The Ukrainian laments for the bygone glories of the noble Russian Orthodox houses may be compared to the Irish laments for the passing of the Anglo-Irish Catholic families in the proscription which followed the surrender of Limerick.

George Fox's rendering in English of the Irish country poem 'The Country of Limerick' is a fine example of a lament for the Jacobite emigration.

On the deck of Patrick Lynch's boat I sit in woeful flight,
Through my sighing all the livelong day and weeping all the night,
Were it not that from my people full of sorrow forth I go,
By the blessed sun! 't is royally I'd sing thy praise, Mayo!

'T is my grief that Patrick Laughlin is not Earl of Irrul still,
And that Brian Duff no longer rules as lord upon the hill,
And that Colonel Hugh MacGrady should be lying dead and low,
And I sailing swiftly from the County of Mayo.

The numbers of blind among the Ukrainian *kobzars* of the seventeenth century is explained by the fact that the Crim Tartars severely punished Ukrainian captives after a first unsuccessful attempt at escape, but after a second attempt they put out their eyes and let them go free. When these men returned to their own districts they usually eked out a livelihood by singing. The recorded songs of the Ukrainian villages contain much valuable historical material. Cf. Dragomanov's *Politicheskaya Pesni Ukrainskogo Naroda* (Political Songs of the Ukrainian People), vols. 1-2, Geneva, 1883-5; Kashchenko, *Opovidannya pro slavno voysko Zaporozhskoe* (Tales of the Zaporogian Sech), Leipzig, 1923.

(12) On 'The Time of Troubles': Ataman Zarutsky

Among the Ukrainian Cossacks who participated in the chaotic events of the Troubled Times was the Zaporogian Ataman Zarutsky. He gained a certain prominence owing to the fact that Marina Mniszek, the Polish lady who had become successively the wife of the first False Dmitri and the second, fell into his hands. When the second Pretender, known to his enemies as 'the Thief of Tushino' (owing to the fact that he had made his camp at the village of Tushino near Moscow), quitted the field of action, Zarutsky carried off Marina Mniszek to Astrakhan together with her son by the second Dmitri—who became known as 'the Little Thief'. 'The Little Thief' continued to be a source of anxiety even after the election of Michael Romanov as Tsar in 1613. The following missive was sent to the Don Cossacks from the new Tsar: 'Write to your brothers the Volga, the Ural and the Terek Cossacks, that if they have the fear of God in them they must not lend their support to the Little Thief.' The *voyevodes* Princes Odoevski and Golovin

175* descended the Volga in boats, supported by the Don Cossacks, against
113 Zarutsky and the adherents of 'the Little Thief'. Zarutsky disappeared into the steppes beyond the Caspian and perished there.

(13) *On the Raids of the Zaporogian Cossacks in the Time of Sahaydachny*

Many legends and songs about the sea raids of the Zaporogians are remembered to this day in the Ukraine. The Zaporogians acquired great fame through the raid on Caffa in 1617 during which large numbers of captives were liberated. Mansurov, the Muscovite ambassador in Stambul, and the clerk, Simonov, give a contemporary account of the raid when the Cossacks, whose ladders were too short to allow them to scale the walls, commandeered grazing camels on which they proceeded to mount the ladders.

For the Turkish accounts of the sea raids, see von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. IX.

(14) *On the Relations between the Zaporogian and the Don Cossacks*

Except on a few occasions when the Zaporogians found themselves in the Polish ranks and the Don Cossacks fought under the Muscovite banner, the two Cossack communities never came into serious conflict. Both the *Sech* and the Don were allies in their common struggle against the Turks and the Crim Tartars. The Don annals frequently record occasions during which the Zaporogians came to their aid. Many individuals and groups from the *Sech* fled to the Don to escape from the sphere of Polish authority. A Muscovite report of the seventeenth century states that: 'There are Zaporogian Cherkasses on the Don and many people do not know why these Cherkasses live on the Don. The *atamans* and the Cossacks are in contact with the Cherkasses. The *atamans* and the Cossacks visit them also beyond the cataracts, and the Cherkasses come to the Don' (Bykadorov, *Donskoe Voyско v Borbe za Vykход v More* (The Don Cossacks in their Struggle for Issues to the Sea), Paris, 1937).

In the year 1621, 1500 Don Cossacks and 300 Zaporogians went off in company on a sea raid. In 1629 the Don Cossacks and the Zaporogians combined in an attack on the coasts of the Crimea. In 1639, 3000 Zaporogians went to the Don to take part in the operations round Azov, thus considerably weakening Pavluk in his rising against the Poles.

(15) *On the Liberation of Captives by the Cossacks*

The desire to liberate their captive compatriots gave a real spiritual background to the exploits of the Cossacks; and the miseries of the thousands of prisoners in Turkish hands form the motive of many Cossack legends and songs (the popular 'propaganda' of those days). For instance: 'There is a fire beyond the river where the Tartars are dividing their prisoners. Our hamlet has been burned and our goods plundered. The old mother has been killed and the wife carried off captive. The tambourines are heard from the valley. People are led to slaughter there, with nooses round their necks and chains that clatter on their feet. I am all done with my grief and despair, with only small children beside me. I will away into the forest along the tracks.'

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Many songs were composed about Ukrainian girls who became the wives of Turks. A usual motive is: a Ukrainian girl is loved by a Turkish Pasha and lives a life of luxury, but her heart is wrung at the sight of the hard lot of her compatriots. A very popular song was one about a girl—'Marusya the priest's daughter from Bohuslav'. Marusya enjoyed the confidence of her Turkish lover, but she stole the key of the prison from him and set the captives free: 'from hard captivity, from the Muslim Faith, to the land of bright dawn where still rivers flow, to the happy land, to the Christian world'.

The Cossacks considered the liberation of captives to be their holy duty, although it imposed on them much onerous trouble, and the keep of the liberated prisoners often cost them much money. The Don Cossacks reminded the Muscovite Tsar of this fact when the pay due to them did not reach them in time. In 1614 we find the Don Cossacks writing: 'My Lord, this year we have sent off three hundred souls, male and female, to Your Majesty's Ukraine, and yet there did not come your high order to send craft and food for these captives. They are dying of hunger; they cannot live, as we live, on grass and water.' The Don Cossacks were accustomed to reproach Moscow, recalling that they served 'not for lucre or lands but only for grass and water' (Bykadorov).

(16) *Kiev as an Intellectual Centre*

Owing to the initiative and influence of Sahaydachny, Kiev became an intellectual centre for the Ukraine. In the time of the Metropolitan Peter Movila the young men who were educated in the Kievan schools and monasteries and in the newly founded Academy of Kiev differed little in the quality of their learning from those educated in the Polish Jesuit schools and colleges. The influences of the Orthodox revival in the Roumanian principalities and at Constantinople also spread to the Ukraine. After the incorporation of the Ukraine with Muscovy, the superior learning of the Kiev Academy and the influences from the Orthodox lands of the south-west were felt in Moscow. Graduates of the Kiev Academy played an important part in the reforms of the Patriarch Nikon during the sixties of the seventeenth century. The Ukrainian factor, with its Danubian and Italo-Greek connections, had a significant relation to the spread of Western influences in Russia half a century before the period of Peter the Great. Apart from commercial contacts with North-Western and Central Europe, these influences were exemplified in the Danubo-Aegean and Romance tendencies to be noted in the sacred literature, church painting and ecclesiastical architecture of the time.

Notwithstanding wars and internal dissensions during the second half of the seventeenth century, Kiev continued to be an intellectual centre. But the intellectual groups in Kiev who showed themselves particularly active in Church politics failed to exercise any important political influence on events because they became and remained alien to the mass of peasants and Cossacks. In this sense, a very characteristic example is the personality of Yuri Nemirich, who completed a very thorough education in Holland (Leyden), where he spent ten years of his life. When he returned to his

- *175 native land he took part in Khmelnytsky's movement and in the subsequent
 113 political conflicts. But in spite of the best intentions, his activities were not
 ● successful. The Cossacks could never understand him and he perished.

(17) *On the Risings between 1630 and 1638*

Shevchenko, the Ukrainian national poet of the nineteenth century, dedicated one of his poems, 'Taras's Night', to the rising of Taras Fedorovich. There is a Ukrainian song about the Hetman Sulima very similar to that about Samuel Kishka. Pavluk, who sacrificed himself in order to save the others, has remained the hero of many legends. Ostranitsa appears to have been one of the most talented of the Cossack military leaders. Despairing of the struggle, he abandoned it in time and withdrew beyond the Donets. (Cf. P. Kulish, 'Ukrainian Cossacks and Polish landlords in the decades before Khmelnytsky's Rising', in *The Russian Review*, vols. I-V, 1895.)

(18) *On the Ukraine after the Suppression of the First Cossack Risings*

The Ukrainian lays picture the period between 1638 and 1648 as one of misery and humiliation. 'Nothing good ever happened in the King's land from the time of the Kumeyki battle till Khmelnytsky. The "undertakers" came down like a swarm of locusts. All the Cossack roads were leased and at intervals of every three miles a toll-house was opened. In dear old Ukraine even churches were leased to the Jews.'

The *Sech* was dead; sea raids and raids on the Crimea had ceased. 'The Dniepr asks the gentle Danube: "Why hast thou no more my own Cossacks on thy banks?" The gentle Danube murmurs: "Father Dniepr, I am myself wondering and guessing why thy Cossacks no longer come my way".'

In spite of the tendency of Polish historians to minimize the intolerable conditions which the Orthodox population endured, some who lived at dates not far removed from the period, as for instance the author of *Three Kings of the House of Vasa*, are not sparing of abuse of the landlords for their oppression of the peasants. Twardowski, a contemporary of Khmelnytsky, frankly admits that all which happened was the fault of the Poles, whose treatment of the peasantry provoked the rising. The French engineer Beauplan expressed the opinion that the condition of the Ukrainian peasantry was only comparable to that of French peasants serving sentences of forced labour. Modern Polish historians do not ignore the true significance of the peasant revolt under Khmelnytsky (cf. Halecki, *La Pologne de 963 à 1914*).

(19) *On the Rising of Bohdan Khmelnytsky*

A series of classical works by Russian historians has been dedicated to Bohdan Khmelnytsky's rising. Most important of these are the works of N. Kostomarov (1817-85) and P. Kulish (1819-97). The work of P. Kulish remains of considerable historical value (*Istoriya Obedineniya Rossii* (The History of the Unification of Russia), vols. I-III, Petersburg, 1874-7). Kulish was a contemporary of Kostomarov, but their outlook differs. It is curious that Kostomarov's work—though he was not a Ukrainian by birth—pleased the Ukrainian nationalists of his time; he idealized the 'love of

liberty' of the Cossacks and sought to see social and revolutionary motives in the movement of 1648-54. Kulish, on the other hand, although he was a Ukrainian, considers that the union of the Ukraine with Muscovy was a matter of historical necessity, and that the Ukrainians, left to themselves, would have been unable to establish an ordered life in their country. At the time Kulish's conclusions called forth indignant protests from Ukrainian nationalists, but at present Ukrainian scholars consider the work of Kulish as more serious than the talented literary essays of Kostomarov. 175* 113 ●

The events of 1648-53 are described in great detail by Hrushevsky in his *History of Ukraine-Rus*, vol. viii, part 3 (1648-50), Wien, 1922; and in vol. ix, part 1 (1650-3), Kiev, 1928. See also, D. Odinetz, *Prisoedinenie Ukrainy k Moskovskomu Gosudarstvu* (The Union of the Ukraine with the Muscovite State), Paris, 1936; and especially the important work of Myakotin, *Ocherki Sotsialnoy Istorii Ukrainy v XVII-XVIII vv.* (Sketches in the Social History of the Ukraine in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries), vols. I-III, Praha, 1924-6.

(20) *On the Internal Policy of Vladislav IV*

For an interpretation of the relations of Vladislav IV with Bohdan Khmelnytsky, summarized in David Hannay's brilliant essay on Polish history in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, see the Polish work by Szajnocha (which has not been accessible to the present writer), *Two Years of our History (1646-1648)*, Lvov, 1865. See also the Polish works by Czermak: *The Plans of the Turkish Wars of Vladislav IV*, Cracow, 1895, and *Letters and Other Writings of Vladislav IV*, Cracow, 1845.

If, as is probable, the 'Royal Letter' of Vladislav IV to Khmelnytsky never existed, there is little doubt that the King had taken the Hetman into his confidence with regard to his political plans. These plans included an intention to undertake decisive action against the Turks (an action which would have anticipated the Ottoman revival and offensive of the third quarter of the century) in alliance not only with Vienna and Venice, but also, if possible with Moscow. In the event of war, the whole-hearted participation of the Cossacks would have been of the greatest value to Poland and—whether or not the King went so far as to conspire with the Hetman against the liberties of the Polish oligarchy—it is likely that he promised Khmelnytsky to restore all the ancient privileges of the Cossacks.

(21) *On the Polish Army in August 1648*

The Polish troops which were hastily raised after the defeat of the Crown Hetman Potocki at Zhovti Vody and near Korsun consisted of numerous detachments of feudal militia together with a force of trained German mercenaries. The Polish nobles could not agree upon one commander, and three of their number were appointed to lead the troops: Dominic Zaslawski, Ostrorog, and the younger Koniecpolski. Khmelnytsky described the Polish command as 'a feather bed, a Latinist, and a babe'; for Zaslawski was known for his luxurious habits, while Ostrorog was renowned for his classical learning, and the son of the veteran friend of Vladislav IV was only eighteen years of age. Like the doomed army of Kara Mustafa, which three 175*

175* demanding their delivery, and to secure it Peter had written a letter in his own hand to the Grand Vizier which was accompanied by a substantial sum in gold. However, on Swedish intercession and also on instructions from Versailles, the French ambassador, the Marquis de Ferrioles, took up the defence of the wretched Hetman.

Soon the illness and death of Mazeppa delivered the Porte from further anxieties. He died on 2 October 1709 and was buried in the Orthodox Church of Tighin; but later the coffin with his remains was transported to the monastery of St George at Galatz.

A year earlier in Glukhov 'the state burial' of Ivan Mazeppa had taken place. With his love of macabre horseplay the Tsar himself was the author of this uncanny ceremony, which was called 'Mazeppa's speeding to Hell'. An effigy representing the dead traitor wearing full Hetman's dress and all the orders which he had received during his life was hung from a gallows. The hangman pulled down the effigy and dragged it into the cathedral, where Theophan Prokopovich, the former eulogist of Mazeppa's classical learning and taste in architecture, pronounced a curse. Menshikov and Golovkin then tore up all the Tsar's letters which had been addressed to the Hetman and ripped the decorations from the effigy. Clergy and choir, clad in black garments with black candles in their hands, intoned curses and spluttered black wax over it. Finally, Theophan Prokopovich hit the Hetman's effigy with his episcopal staff and pronounced 'anathema'. The effigy was then again hung on the gallows and afterwards burnt. 'Anathema' on Mazeppa, False Dmitri and Stenka Razin, all of whom had attempted to shake the foundations of the Muscovite state, continued to be proclaimed every year in all the churches of the Russian Empire. (8)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND ADDITIONS TO CHAPTER IV

Sources and General Bibliography for the Period of the Hetmans

175*
● 113 A great mass of original documents concerning this period is preserved in the Russian Archives; notably the *Archives concerning Little Russia*. Originally Ukrainian affairs came under the control of the *Posolski Prikaz*—the Muscovite Foreign Office; later they were transferred to a special *Malorusski Prikaz* or Little Russian Office; and finally, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Little Russian Collegium was set up, and to the offices of this body were transferred all documents and archives concerning the Ukraine.

The most important papers were edited by D. Bantysh-Kamenski and were published in 1858 under the title of *Istochniki Malorossiyskoy Istorii* (Sources for the History of Little Russia). Valuable materials have also been published in *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoy Rossii* (Archives of South-Western

Russia), a periodical edited in Kiev from 1860 onwards by the well-known Ukrainian historian and political leader, Professor Antonovich. 176

Ukrainian chronicles concerning events at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries contain much original material on the history of the country. Of these the most important is 'The Eye-Witness's Chronicle'; the author, Roman Rakushko, was a contemporary and participator in the events of the Khmelnytsky period. His Chronicle was edited in Kiev in 1878 under the title *Letopis Samovidtsa po novootkrytym spiskam* (Eye-Witness's Chronicle according to Recently Discovered Texts). Two other chroniclers, Velichko and Hrabynka, wrote during the eighteenth century of the events of the epic period of Ukrainian history of which they themselves were not contemporary: S. Velichko, *Letopis Sobytyi* (Chronicle of Events), 3 vols. Kiev, 1855; *Letopis Grabyanky* (Hrabynka's Chronicle), Kiev, 1854. 113 ●

Based on these chronicles, an early history of Little Russia was written towards the end of the eighteenth century, but it only appeared in print in the middle of the nineteenth century. *Istoria Russov ili Maloy Rossii* (History of the Rus or of Little Russia), Moscow, 1846, was ascribed to Yuri Konisski, Archbishop of White Russia, but it is now generally attributed to Gregory Poletika, a Ukrainian political figure of the days of Catherine II. To the same category belongs General Riegelmann's *Letopisnoe Povestvovanie o Maloy Rossii i eya narode i kazakakh vobshche, sostavlennoe v 1786-1795* (Chronological History of Little Russia and her People and the Cossacks in general, composed in 1786-1795), 4 vols. Moscow, 1847.

In addition to the standard works mentioned in the Bibliography to Chapter III, the following biographical works are of value for the history of the Hetman period:

Antonovich, V. *Istorieskie Deyateli Yugo-Zapadnoy Rossii* (Historical Figures of South-Western Russia).

Kostomarov, N. *Sobranie Sochineniy* (Collected Works): vol. II, *Getmanstvo Vigovskago* (Vyhovskiy Hetman); vols. IX-XI, *Bogdan Khmelnytski*, Petersburg, 1903-4.

The following works should also be consulted:

Vovk Karachevski, V. *Borba Polshi s Kazachestvom vo vtoroy polovine XVII i nachale XVIII veka* (Poland's Struggle with the Cossacks in the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century).

Doroshenko, D. *Narys Istoryi Ukrayiny* (Outline of the History of the Ukraine), vol. II, Warsaw, 1933.

(1) *The Agreement of 1654 and the Actual Position in the Ukraine during Khmelnytsky's Lifetime*

One of the most valuable works on this subject is Baron Nolde's critical essay: *L'Ukraine sous le Protectorat Russe*, Paris, 1915 (a Ukrainian translation has been published in Lvov). See also D. Odynets, *Prisoedinenie Ukrainy k Moskovskomu Gosudarstvu* (The Union of Ukraine with the Muscovite State), Paris, 1938.

- *175 An old but authoritative analysis of the Agreement is to be found in
 113 G. Karpov's 'Peregovory o Prisoedinenii Malorossii k Velikoy Rossii' (Pourparlers on the Union of Little Russia with Great Russia), published in *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya* (Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction), no. 11, 1871. According to Karpov, only a copy of the draft of the Agreement has been preserved in the Moscow Archives. When, in 1709, Peter I asked for the original, it could not be found.

For an appreciation of the actual social conditions existing in the Ukraine at the time of the Union, Myakotin's book is of great importance: V. Myakotin, *Ocherki Sotsialnoy Istorii Ukrainy v XVII-XVIII veka* (Essays on the Social History of the Ukraine in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries), 3 vols. Prague, 1924-6.

(2) *The Population of the Ukraine at the Time of the Union*

During the Cossack campaigns of 1648-53 Volhynia was terribly devastated. The Polish register of the year 1657 gives a detailed account. The town of Kremenets was entirely destroyed and not a soul was left alive in the scores of villages which lay in the surrounding countryside. The estates of the Vishnevetsky princes seem to have suffered most: in the borough of Monachin and twenty-two surrounding villages only six houses were left standing; in the town of Zbarazh and its thirty-five villages only nineteen houses remained, and in twenty-two other villages not even an empty house was left. In the town of Vladimir-Volynsk, 'rich and flourishing before', only two houses remained standing in 1657. In another formerly prosperous Volhynian town, Lutsk, only fourteen houses were left: 'the inhabitants had either fled or died of the plague'. The greatest part in this work of destruction was played by the Tartars, but the Cossacks and the Polish soldiery also ravaged wide stretches of country. The Jewish population was either slaughtered or fled to Galicia and Poland. The Tartars did not take the Jews prisoners but slew them on the spot. Only 10 per cent of the Jewish population of Volhynia, Podolia and the Ukraine survived. The Russian population suffered most in Podolia in the region of Bratslav; less in other parts of right-bank Ukraine.

As a result of these calamities there was a great increase of population on the left bank. In 1654 about 128,000 men were brought to swear allegiance to the Tsar's commissioners: this number represented apparently between one-third and one-half of the total grown male population. In the last years of Khmelnytsky's life the population of that part of the Ukraine which was under his rule numbered about a million and a half.

A curious feature of the Hetman's Ukraine was the unusual number of 'towns' for the period: in the district of the Bratslav regiment, 20; in that of the Nezhin regiment, 16; in that of the Poltava regiment, 15. There was one town to every three or four villages. But every strong place in which there was a fort surrounded by a wall and moat was called a 'town' (*gorod*). In the agitated period of the seventeenth century the inhabitants preferred these 'towns' to defenceless villages. In this wise and for similar reasons the old tradition of *Kievan Rus* was renewed in the Ukraine; in the twelfth century

the inhabitants of the Pereyaslavl, Chernigov and Kiev lands had had a distinct preference for living in towns. 175*

See M. Vladimirski-Budanov, *Peredvizhenie Yuzhno-Russkogo Naseleniya v epokhu Bogdana Khmel'nitskogo* (Migration of the South-Russian Population in the time of Bogdan Khmel'nitsky), Kiev, 1888. 113 ●

(3) *The Ambassadors of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich in Warsaw in 1658*

The ambassadors sent to Warsaw, and at first very graciously entertained by King John Casimir, complain in curious terms about the Poles to Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich: 'In Warsaw the Poles often whisper in each others' ears; they also wink at us and make fun of us. When we are walking round the town or sitting in taverns, their soldiers make such a noise with their swords that we are often terrified. The whole countryside, they say, swarms with troops, and little Polish drunkards among each other speak of our Cossacks as belonging to them and they say that Smolensk will soon be theirs. As for our dignity as ambassadors no one gives it a thought, and they have also forgotten all about Thy Polish inheritance, My Lord. When we try and discourse with them about it, they answer us with grins and by clicking their heels together. And O My Lord, if truth be said, we are simply the Polish laughing stock.'

(4) *The Title of Hetman in the Hadyach Agreement*

'Russian Hetman and First Senator of the Voyevodes' Districts of Kiev, Bratslav, and Chernigov.'

(5) *The End of Yuri Khmelnytsky*

Colonel Samko defeated Yuri Khmelnytsky in July 1662. Among the latter's troops were Don Cossacks and a thousand German mercenaries. Yuri fled to his friend the Archimandrite Tukelsky and, after resigning the Hetmanship in favour of Colonel Teterya, became a monk. When King John Casimir embarked on his campaign on the Dniepr, Yuri went to him. The King proposed to make him Metropolitan, but Yuri wanted to be Hetman again. Tukelsky became Metropolitan instead of him. Together with Tukelsky Yuri was arrested by Czarniecki in 1664, and sent to the fortress of Marienburg. After two years' imprisonment, they were set at liberty through the intercession of Peter Doroshenko. During his residence in the Moshnin monastery Yuri received information about the relations existing between Doroshenko and the Turks. When the Poles again wanted to arrest Yuri and his friend Tukelsky, they took refuge with Doroshenko. At the end of the year 1667, the Muscovite envoy with Doroshenko, going to church, found that the officiating priest was none other than Yuri Khmelnytsky, who was now known as the Archimandrite Gideon. However, when Doroshenko's position became insecure, Yuri Khmelnytsky joined Khanenko. Khanenko was defeated by Sirko and some Tartar friends of Sirko's took Yuri to the Turkish fort at Akkerman. Doroshenko, who did not desire the return of Yuri to Ukraine, asked the Pasha to send him to Istanbul. This was done, and Archimandrite Gideon was incarcerated in the

175* castle of the Seven Towers, where he remained until 1677, when he was set
 113 free and taken by sea to the Crimea.

(6) *Ataman Sirko*

Unreasoning and brave, Sirko was chaotic in all his actions throughout all his life. He is the most fantastic of all the fantastic figures in the Zaporogian *Sech*. Indifferent to booty, lucre and honours, Sirko was the very pattern of the wild Zaporogian chivalry. However, owing to his childish imagination and trusting disposition he was quite incapable of understanding the tortuous men and difficult circumstances of his time. There is an episode which well illustrates the simplicity of the Zaporogian hero. One day a young man appeared in the *Sech* who had been brought there by Don Cossacks. This young man gave himself out to be 'the Tsarevich Simeon', the son of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich, who, on account of some dark plot, had been banished to the Solovetski monastery, whence he had managed to escape. Sirko tried to persuade the impostor 'not to fool the Zaporogians' but in the end believed his tale. In 1674 envoys came from Moscow to demand the delivery of 'the Tsarevich'. Sirko called the *Rada* together and persuaded the Zaporogians not to surrender their guest. The Zaporogians agreed and nearly drowned the Muscovite envoys. On second thoughts, however, Sirko asked the Muscovites to procure him a 'writing' from the Tsar himself to tell him whether Simeon was his son or not. Tsar Alexey had the graciousness to send him such a writing. Simeon was then sent off to Moscow, where he was executed.

There are many legends about *ataman* Sirko. In the spring of 1675, with 20,000 Zaporogians, he undertook his celebrated campaign to the Crimea. Having defeated the Tartars and taken Baghchi-Saray and Ak-Mechet (Simferopol), the Zaporogians were returning home with about 7000 liberated captives who had lived for years among the Muslims. Sirko noticed that by no means all of them were delighted to return to the Ukraine; many of them had married Tartar women and had really settled down to the Muslim way of life. Sirko decided to give a lesson to those 'who go over so easily not only to the Moscow people and the Poles but even to the enemies of the Christian Faith'. Having reached a place called the Black Valley he ordered his men to halt and declared to the liberated captives that he did not want to force anyone to go to the Ukraine and that those who wished to do so could return to the Crimea. About 3000 of them took him at his word and formed into a column to return to the south. Sirko sent young Cossacks after them with the order to slaughter them all. Later, looking round on all the heaps of corpses, he observed: 'Pardon me, brothers, but it is better for you to sleep here until the Day of Judgment than to settle in the Crimea and beget children and be damned to all eternity.'

Though the most bitter enemy of the Tartars, Sirko was respected by them for his fairness. During periods of armistice, these children of the steppe often asked him to act as an arbiter in their own quarrels. Hetman Samoylovich rebuked him once for allowing the Tartar herds to graze over the Cossack pastures. Sirko replied: 'Lord Hetman, if myself would help people in their dire need, it is not well to look down on that. There is a saying that need

changes law. We and the Tartars are neighbours and help each other in a neighbourly way.' Legend ascribes to Sirko 'the answer to the Sultan's letter'. In his letter, according to the tradition, Sultan Muhammad IV called himself the Vice-Regent of God upon Earth, the King of Kings and so forth. Sirko is reputed to have begun his answer with the words: 'Thou art nought but the Turkish Shaitan, brother and comrade of the accursed Satan, Lucifer's own secretary.'

(7) *The Disgrace of Hetman Samoylovich*

All the property of the disgraced Hetman was confiscated to the Muscovite Exchequer. A touching love affair was taking place during the downfall of Samoylovich. His daughter was engaged to young Prince Chetvertinsky. 'For three years the young people hid in the village of Dunaytsy. A local tradition shows the deep wooded valley where they took shelter. Having fallen in love with a brilliant young woman, the Hetman's daughter, the fiancé did not desert her when events deprived her of rank, riches and even decent clothing. He was able to marry her only in 1690' (N. Markovich).

(8) *Mazeppa*

Hetman Ivan Mazeppa has not yet found a critical and unbiased biographer. Even in the nineteenth century Russian historians were inhibited from objective study by the fact that Mazeppa was considered as 'one of the greatest criminals against the State' and by the continuing anathema of the Church. This background influenced such works as, for instance, N. Kostomarov's *Mazeppa i Mazeppintzy* (Mazeppa and the Mazeppans), Petersburg, 1885.

On the other hand the idealization of Mazeppa by the Ukrainian nationalists as a hero who pursued a far-sighted policy against the Muscovite hegemony in the Ukraine is equally unscientific. As a sample of this school see E. Borshak and R. Martel, *Vie de Mazeppa*, Paris, 1931.

The Kiev professors of the latter half of the nineteenth century, as for instance Antonovich, formed a more objective view of Mazeppa as an adventurer in the grand manner who would stop at nothing to attain rank, pomp and wealth. The 'treason' of Mazeppa against Tsar Peter was almost accidental, and doubtless no great moral issue disturbed the mind of the old Hetman who, it must be remembered, had spent his youth at the Polish court where no sanctity surrounded the office of monarch, and where 'treason' was indistinguishable from faction. Like old Simon Lovat in the '45, Mazeppa at the end of his life was the victim of his own calculating brain, and his love of intrigue and combinations led him into a position from which he found it impossible to escape.

For Mazeppa's relations with Colonel Paley, see M. Andrusyak, *Mazeppa i Pravoberezhye* (Mazeppa and the Right Bank), Lvov, 1938.

The same author has written an essay in which he establishes that, until 1705, Mazeppa had never thought of going over to Charles XII. (See M. Andrusyak, 'Zavyazky Mazepy z Stanislavom Leshchinskim i Karлом XII', in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tov. Shevchenki* (The Relations of Mazeppa with Stanislas Leszczyński and Charles XII, in *Proceedings of the Shevchenko*

* 175 *Scientific Society*), vol. CLII, Lvov, 1933). See also for this period: J. Feldman, *Polaka w Dobie Wielkiej Wojny Polnocnej* (Poland in the Great Northern War), Cracow, 1926; *Trudy Imp. Russkago Voenno-Istoricheskago Obshchestva*; *Pisma i Bumagi Petra Velikago*; *Dokumenty Velikoy Severnoy Voyny, Poltavski Period* (Works of the Imperial Russian Society for Military History, Papers and Letters of Peter the Great, Documents of the Great Northern War, Poltava Period), vols. III-VI, Petersburg, 1893-1907. See also Swedish biographies of Charles XII by Frixell and others and the series of memoirs in *Karolinska Krigares Dagböcker*, Lund.

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Mazeppa has acquired a wide celebrity in international literature through Passet's *Memoirs* and Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII*. These works were the origin of Byron's poem and of Horace Vernet's well-known picture. Chaykovski also dedicated one of his operas to Mazeppa. The hero of the great Russian poet Pushkin, in his poem *Poltava*, is not Mazeppa but Peter the Great. Pushkin, in relating the tragic fate of Kochubey, represents Mazeppa as he really was: a man of violent passions who knew how to hide not so much his thoughts as his feelings. Pushkin rightly guessed the motive which led the old Hetman to his ruin: the fear, which tortured him, that, in remaining loyal to Tsar Peter, he might be supporting the losing side.

Some letters have been preserved which are considered to be Mazeppa's letters to Maria Kochubey. These letters are supposed to have been found in Kochubey's house after his arrest and to have been produced during the trial. It is related that Count Golovkin returned these letters to the Hetman with assurances that he had not shown them to anyone and that he had not had them copied: but he had in fact had copies taken. Even if these letters may be regarded as genuine they give no clue to the character of their author. Their theme is love, forced parting, the sufferings of lovers, and indignation against Maria's parents. The promises never to forget Maria are accompanied by explanations as to why the Hetman could not keep her in his house. Some of the later letters speak of 'the change in Maria's heart' and of the Hetman's grief on account of it. But it is possible that the melancholy lines of the old reprobate were only the considered epilogue to a love affair which was too perilous and which had lasted too long. Before Maria and after Maria, Ivan Mazeppa continued to be surrounded by 'Ukrainian ladies'.

For the comparative history of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe during the period of the Hetmans, the relevant volumes of von Hammer's and Jorga's great *Histories of the Ottoman Empire* have been consulted. The former, though over a century old, is based largely on original Turkish, Venetian, Dutch and Austrian sources, and contains a mass of material not otherwise available. The more modern and more critical work of Jorga is the best general history for South-Eastern Europe. Reference has also been made to the following excellent surveys in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v: Prof. R. Lodge, chap. XII, 'Austria, Poland and Turkey'; chap. XVII, R. Nisbet Bain, 'Peter the Great and His Pupils'; chap. XIX, *idem*, 'Charles XII and the Great Northern War'.

The *Revue du Sud-Est Européen*, published in Bucarest by Professor Jorga, contains a number of papers covering this period, notably: vol. X, nos. 1-3, M. Kasterka-Sergescu, 'L'expédition de Sobieski en Moldavie en 1686';

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vol. x, nos. 7-9, N. Jorga, 'Sobieski et les Roumains'; vol. xiii, nos. 7-9, 175*
O. Halecki, 'Relations Polono-Roumaines'.

A valuable article by the Ukrainian writer E. Borshak in the *Slavonic Review*, vol. x, no. 28, p. 138, surveys the 'Relations of England and the Ukraine' from the visit of Yuri Nemirich to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to the correspondence of Orlik and later Ukrainian leaders with English statesmen and private individuals. The writer gives numerous details about the mysterious Scotsman 'Krivonos' ('Broken-Nose') who was prominent in the immediate entourage of Khmelnytsky and who was believed by many to have been an agent of the Commonwealth Government. 113 ●

*175 when he spoke in the Duma on the occasion of a debate (spring of 1914) during which Russian members of conservative and nationalist tendencies were opposing the holding of festivals in Kiev on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko. 'A Ukrainian movement exists', he affirmed, 'and it cannot be stopped.' He went on to declare that: 'As yet there is no separatist movement in the Ukraine. Even if it exists in an embryonic state it is very weak. But it can be brought to life—and that is what Russian Nationalists are doing.'

As it was, when in the summer of 1914 the crisis of the Slav world approached catastrophe, the Ukrainians showed themselves prepared to submerge their own national individuality in the cause of All the Russias.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND ADDITIONS TO CHAPTER V

General Bibliography for the Period of the Later Hetmans

- 113 See works already mentioned in Notes to Chapter IV by Nolde, Myakotin, Doroshenko. *The Ukrainian Encyclopaedia* is also useful for the history of the Ukraine in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

For the history of the Zaporogian *Sech* in the eighteenth century, see:
Skalkovski. *Istoriya Novoy Sechi* (History of the New *Sech*), Odessa, 1845.
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For Hetman Cyril Razumovsky, see:
Vasilichkov. *Semeystvo Razumovskikh* (The Razumovski Family), Petersburg, 1880.
Cf. also *Camb. Mod. Hist.* vol. VI, chap. VII, R. Nisbet Bain, 'Poland under the Saxon Kings'; chap. X, *idem*, 'Russia under Anne and Elizabeth'.

For the period of Catherine II in general, see:
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(1) *Ukrainians on Forced Works During the Reign of Peter I* 175 *

Many folk songs recall the memory of these forced works:

'Oh! They gave the boys large spades,
And they sent a young lad to dig ditches.
Oh! And a raven flew from the foreign land,
He flew and crowed
That the lad is sitting by the ditch,
Sitting and crying bitterly:

"I am only a lad so young,
And Oh! So strange am I here!
Oh father! Sell the black steed,
Pay ransom for me,
Then back to dear freedom again."

Kashchenko's *Opovidannya*,

(2) *The Fate of Orlik and Voynarovsky*

Until the death of Charles XII and the end of the Great Northern War, Philip Orlik continued to entertain hopes that his services might prove of profit to one or other of the Great Powers. The Swedes had recognized him as the lawful Hetman of the Ukraine, and the Turks continued to allow him to remain in Istanbul in case they found themselves in need of his help in the Ukraine. The English even took some interest in him, since the Government of George I was irritated by Peter's passing patronage of the Jacobite cause (see Borshak, *Slavonic Review*, vol. x, no. 28, p. 138).

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In 1722, however, Orlik found it necessary to leave Istanbul, and he wandered about Europe for some time. In Hamburg he was successful in marrying off his daughter to a French nobleman; and he ended his days peacefully at the Château de Dinteville near Chaumont.

Hamburg turned out to be a more tragic halting place for Mazeppa's favourite nephew, Andrew Voynarovsky. The old Hetman appears to have had a genuine and fatherly affection for his sister's son. Good-looking, gifted, courageous and adventurous, Andrew Voynarovsky appeared to the Hetman to have all the qualities which he may have imagined himself as possessing as a young man.

Voynarovsky had been sent to study abroad in Dresden where, owing to his uncle's friendship with Augustus the Strong, he was received into the most intimate circle of the court and became acquainted with the celebrated Aurora Königsmarck.

During his sojourn in Tighin and Istanbul, Voynarovsky found himself involved in quarrels with Philip Orlik in respect of the considerable sums of treasure which remained in the hands of the fugitives after Mazeppa's death. In 1715 Voynarovsky took up his abode in Vienna and from there removed to Sweden, since included in his inheritance was the enormous debt amounting to about a million *kröner* from Charles XII for monies borrowed after Poltava. In Stockholm he found difficulty in securing settlement from the hard-pressed King, but otherwise he was treated with consideration.

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175* From Sweden Voynarovsky found occasion to visit Hamburg, where he again met Aurora Königsmarck, at that time living in the Free City which in those days was a centre for the fashionable international world, since it had a reputation for political intrigue, high play and agreeable life. In the salon of his old friend he met an English diplomat named Mattison, whom he tried to interest in 'the freedom-loving Ukrainian people': it was not an unfavourable moment, since the British Government were unquiet at the possible disturbance of the balance of power in the Baltic and the Black Sea as a result of the Russian successes in the Northern War. But Voynarovsky's advances, like Orlik's, had no result; and Mazeppa's nephew, possibly as a result of his failure in this direction, began to play with the idea of a reconciliation with the Russian authorities through the mediation of Aurora Königsmarck.

Peter I, however, being informed of Voynarovsky's presence in Hamburg, ordered his Resident there, Frederick Bettichger, to kidnap him, and to forward a demand at the same time to the Senate of the Free City for the delivery of 'the criminal'. Several Russian officers were sent to Hamburg to help Bettichger in these plans. At that time Russian troops were quartered in Mecklenburg under the command of Rumyantsev, who later was to have a hand in 'bringing back' the Tsarevich Alexey Petrovich from Naples. An ambush was arranged and Voynarovsky was kidnapped in the street and taken to Bettichger's house, where he could be held a prisoner owing to the extra-territorial status of the Resident. The Hamburg Magistrates protested and the Swedish envoy demanded the release of Voynarovsky on the ground that he was a 'Colonel in the Swedish Royal Guard'. It is difficult to say how this affair would have ended if Aurora Königsmarck had not intervened. She persuaded Voynarovsky to avail himself of the visit of the Russian court to Altona to go there on 5 December, the name-day of the Empress Catherine, and throw himself on the Tsar's mercy. The Swedish envoy, for some unknown reason, also advised him to do so. Voynarovsky imprudently yielded and was immediately sent off to Petersburg 'in order that the case might be investigated'. There he was incarcerated in the fortress of Peter and Paul, where he remained until 1723, when he was sent to Yakutsk in the far north-east of Siberia. He died there in 1740. The traveller Miller saw him in Yakutsk—a complete moral and physical wreck. This meeting became the theme of the poem 'Voynarovsky' composed by a Russian author at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This poet was himself involved in the Decabrist movement—so many of the participators in which ended their days in Siberia. (See Ilya Borshak, *Voynarovsky*, Lvov, 1938.)

(3) *The Haydamaky*

175* The *Haydamak* movement, beginning in the thirties of the eighteenth century, acquired ferocious and anarchical proportions during the sixties when Gonta and Zaliznyak took Uman. The movement has been idealized by Ukrainian nationalists—even by such eminent historians as Professor Antonovich (*Izsledovanie o Gaydamachestve po Aktam 1700–1768* (Researches on the Haydamaks based on Documents 1700–1768), Kiev, 1876). Kulish, however, protested against this idealization, on the ground that the movement was the most vivid expression of the anarchic elements in the character

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In the nineteenth century the former Zaporogians gradually died out, and the Danube delta became a refuge simply for peasants escaping from over the Russian frontier; about 1820 these fugitives had become rather numerous; there were about 15,000 to 20,000 of them. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828-9 put an end to this situation. When the Russian Army crossed the Danube the last *ataman* of the Danube Cossacks, Hladky, went to the Emperor Nicholas I at Izmail to implore his pardon and mercy. Hladky was given the rank of colonel and later that of general. The Danube Cossacks went back to Russia; the majority of them joined the descendants of the Zaporogians on the Kuban.

For some interesting details on Polish military refugees in the Ottoman Empire, particularly during the nineteenth century, see Thadée Gosztowt, *La Pologne et l'Islam*, Paris, 1907.

(5) Decabrists in the Ukraine

The Decabrists had numerous supporters among the young officers in garrison in the Ukraine. The movement found scarcely any support among the people, but many landowners in the Ukraine, Polish, Ukrainian and Russian, favoured the aims of a constitutional monarchy in Russia, a liberal régime and the abolition of serfdom. Colonel Pestel, probably the most determined and gifted of the Decabrist leaders, was stationed in the Ukraine, and at the time of the attempted coup in Petersburg, a mutiny of officers took place at the small town of Tulchin in Podolia. (See Bagaley, *Povstania Dekabristov na Ukraine*, Kharkov, 1926.)

(6) The Development of New Russia during the Nineteenth Century

The fashionable intelligentsia who liked to sneer at 'the Potëmkin villages' at the beginning of the nineteenth century were fond of repeating the phrase: 'One can hear the steppe winds howl where Catherine's favourite built his ephemeral towns.' As a matter of fact, of the four towns founded by Potëmkin, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, Sevastopol, Nikolaev, each already had a population of 100,000 or over within a century of his death. Potemkin did not live to supervise the building of Odessa, but the site was chosen by him. Odessa was built by French *émigrés*—de Ribas, Langeron and the Duc de Richelieu. During the reign of Alexander I it had already become a flourishing commercial town with a busy port and broad boulevards and buildings in the French 'Empire' style. The *Lycée* founded by Richelieu was transformed later into the New Russian University. Pushkin, who visited Odessa in the twenties of the nineteenth century, describes the gay and busy life of this cosmopolitan city which had arisen on the site of a forlorn Turkish hamlet. It had become a great centre for merchants and tradesmen of different nationalities—Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Italians, Moldavians, Germans and Poles—who streamed there from all parts.

After the Vienna Congress which marked the end of the period of wars, the South Russian grain trade began to develop on a prodigious scale and Odessa became the main port of export. The cultivation of the virgin soil of New Russia gave fabulous results; but there was a great lack of labour, which was not adequately supplied by the migrant population of fugitive peasants

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Section (c) of the same Paragraph reserved all questions of finance, 692 including the local budgets of the constituent republics, to the discretion of the Central Government.

Paragraph 60 provided that the Parliaments of the Republics could make changes in their respective constitutions, but that these changes must correspond to the spirit of the Constitution of the Union. Under Paragraph 69 the Central Government retained the right to veto any decisions taken by the governments of the local republics. As has already been stated, Stalin did not consider it necessary to deprive the national republics of the illusory right of opting out of the Union. At the same time he not only retained the conception of the Constitution of 1923 which provided for a special representation of the minority nationalities in the central legislature, but his pleasing sense of the ridiculous in regard to the automatic reactions of his admirers in foreign countries induced him to give orders for the members of this body to be elected. In this Chamber of Nationalities the Ukrainians have rather less than 200 representatives out of 574—a figure which corresponds probably to the relative numerical importance of their population in relation to the other nationalities in the Union. Any advantage which might theoretically accrue from this representation is lost at the joint sittings of 'the two Chambers of the Superior Council', when the delegates of the nationalities find themselves in a minority among 1143 of their colleagues.

Stalin would have been but a poor Marxist if he had forgotten that the laws regulating the political existence of the Soviet Ukraine would only correspond to the actual state of things if they expressed 'economic realities'. Though strengthened by the new Constitution of the Union, the link between the Ukraine and Great Russia would still remain only theoretical, in the Marxist view, if the Soviet Government had not succeeded in absorbing the economic life of the Ukraine into that of the rest of the Union and welding out of the two an indestructible whole. (11, 12)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND ADDITIONS
TO CHAPTER VI

(1) *The Austrians and Russians in Galicia*

A full documentation of the Austrian repression of the *Primoskovity* in Galicia is to be found in the *Telerhof Almanack* published in several series 113 ● by the Galicians after the war (*Telerhofsky Almanakh*, 1-4, Lvov, 1926-9).

- 113 Telerhof was the largest concentration camp for 'pro-Russians'; at times their number reached 10,000, and about 2000 died during the typhus epidemic. The Austrian authorities later acknowledged that 'among the people arrested in the war zone were many who were arrested by mistake or upon false denunciations'. (See also D. Yavorsky, *Dumy o Rodine* (Thoughts about my Native Land), Lvov, 1923.)

For the relations between the Russian troops and the population, see General A. A. Brusilov, *A Soldier's Note Book*, London, 1930; also Bernard Pares, *My Russian Memories*, London, 1925.

Russian blunders have been described with many exaggerations in Ukrainian 'separatist' literature. For a more balanced view see D. Doroshenko, 'Voyna i Revoliutsia na Ukraine', in the periodical *Istoriia i Suvremennik* ('War and Revolution in the Ukraine,' in *The Historian and Contemporary*), vols. 1-V, Berlin, 1923.

(2) *Biographical Note on Vinnichenko and Petlyura*

- 643 Mark Vinnichenko belonged to the Ukrainian intelligentsia. He failed to complete his studies on account of revolutionary activities which he started when a boy at a Gymnasium and on account of which he had to leave the University of Kiev after his first year.

During the period 1906-14 Vinnichenko wrote novels (in Russian) which were quite widely read. The themes were not political but rather romantic, and the author delighted in the delineation of psychological conflicts which were intended for the imagination of readers who were not too exacting. Vinnichenko had tuberculosis and he seems to have been consumed by an 'inner fever' which can often be observed in persons who are suffering from that malady.

People who knew Vinnichenko do not deny that he possessed a certain honesty of purpose which was generally not one of the distinctive traits of his colleagues in the Rada.

Simon Petlyura was quite a different type. He was the son of a simple cabman, but received his education in the Poltava Gymnasium. Later he became a book-keeper in a commercial undertaking in Moscow, and collaborated in a periodical which appeared before the war called *Ukrainian Life* (in Russian). Petlyura belonged to a milieu which produced many capable and energetic men in the years preceding the war. It was such men, for instance, who had created the widespread co-operative movement in Russia. Many representatives of this class worked successfully during the war in the Unions of Towns and the Unions of Zemstvos. In contrast to Vinnichenko, Petlyura was eloquent neither in his speech nor with his pen. He was a man of action and practical capacity rather than a propagandist of ideals. However, unlike many of his more vocal and emotional collaborators, he maintained an irreconcilable attitude towards the Bolsheviks to the end; his assassin, Schwartzbrod, may well have been a (possibly unconscious) agent of the G.P.U.

(3) *The Conflict Between the Rada and the Provisional Government*

- 113 See Paul Milyukov, *Istoriia Vtoroy Russkoy Revoliutsii* (History of the Second Russian Revolution), vols. 1-III, Sofia, 1921; Bernard Pares, *The Downfall of the Russian Monarchy*, London, 1939; and other works dealing

with the period March–November 1917. A series of interesting articles on the subject from the pen of Milyukov has been published recently in the Parisian Russian daily newspaper *Posledniya Novosti* (The Latest News), 19 March–1 April 1939. For the Ukrainian point of view see D. Doroshenko, *Istoriya Ukrainy* (1917–23), Uzhhorod, 1935; Vinnichenko, *Vozrozhdenie Natsii* (The Resurrection of a Nation), vols. I–III, Vienna, 1925. 113 ●

(4) *The Ukrainians at Brest-Litovsk*

A vivid description of the course of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations and of the part played by the delegates of the Rada is given in the scholarly work of J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Brest-Litovsk: The Forgotten Peace*, London, 1938. An Appendix gives the text of the Peace Treaty with the Ukraine, and a valuable Bibliography is included.

The reminiscences of the leading personalities at Brest-Litovsk have been published in English translations: Hoffmann, *War Diaries and Other Papers*, London, 1929; Czernin, *In the World War*, London, 1919; Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution to Brest-Litovsk*, London, 1919; *My Life*, London, 1935.

(5) *The First 'Siege' of Kiev by the Bolsheviks*

This 'siege' continued for about ten days—from 30 January to 8 February 1918. The first Bolshevik detachments approached the city from the left bank of the Dniepr. The city is situated on the high right bank and presented a perfect target for the Red artillery. Most of the damage was done by an armoured train mounting naval guns, which destroyed, among other architectural features, the block of flats built by Professor Hrushevsky when he decided to settle in the city. When other Bolshevik detachments and the 'Ukrainian regiments' which had gone over to them appeared on the right bank, further resistance became impossible. The brunt of the defence was borne, not by the supporters of Holubovich and Vinnichenko, but by volunteer detachments consisting of officers, students and even schoolboys; many young lives were lost. 669

(6) *The Austro-German Occupation of the Ukraine and the Régime of Skoropadsky*

Most interesting material is revealed in the documents published by the Soviets in an anonymous book entitled *Krakh Nemetskoï Okkupatsii na Ukraine: Sbornik Dokumentov izdannyykh Gosizdatom* (The Crash of the German Occupation in the Ukraine: Collection of Documents published by the State Publishing Organization), Moscow, 1936. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of these documents which fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks after they occupied Kiev (some of the documents are reproduced in facsimile). It will be difficult, however, for the reader to agree with the deductions made by the Soviet editor. He affirms, for instance, that the Occupation troops were unable to deal with the resistance of 'the great popular masses', and that whole German divisions were employed in putting down workmen's strikes and peasant risings. These assertions are not confirmed by any document. In the documents reference is only made to the assassination of 727 642 113

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113 isolated landowners and to the sending of punitive detachments to certain districts.

The principal reason for the downfall of the German occupation of the Ukraine was, of course, the defeat of the German Armies on the Western Front. The 8th of August is the date which marks a break in the frame of mind of the German Command in Kiev. This can be noted in the documents published in Germany: *Die Rückführung des Ostheeres*, Berlin, 1936.

Wheeler-Bennett describes the situation in the Ukraine in these terms: 'The early months of the Skoropadsky regime were marked by a substantial economic revival; the landowners, industrialists and bourgeois being anxious to co-operate with the new government and the agencies of the Germans and Austro-Hungarians.... Passive resistance in certain districts was coupled with acts of sabotage in others. In Odessa an aeroplane factory was set on fire, numerous munition dumps were exploded and trains wrecked.'

See also on the same subject: Pierre Brégy and Prince Serge Obolensky, *L'Ukraine—Terre Russe*, Paris, 1939, pp. 207-8. (Eng. translation, London, 1940.)

(7) Activities of the Bolshevik 'Peace Delegation' in Kiev

727 The German authorities were well informed of the subversive activities of the Soviet 'Peace Delegation' in Kiev, but they ignored them—as they ignored the assassination of their Ambassador, Count Mirbach in Moscow, and of their Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal Eichhorn in Kiev, in order to avoid the precipitation of a further conflict with the Soviet Government at the moment of crisis on the Western Front. In order to produce incontrovertible proof of the Soviet activities, the Hetman's Minister of the Interior, Igor Kistyanovsky, had recourse to a very original mode of action. With the aid of the Ukrainian police, he arranged 'a brigands' attack on the train in which Rakovski and Manuilsky were returning to Moscow. In order to give reality to the attack 'the brigands' confiscated all the valuables and personal possessions of the two delegates, together with the mass of compromising documents which Kistyanovsky desired to lay hands on and which he afterwards presented to Baron Mumm for perusal. The revelations failed, however, to change the German attitude.

(8) Revolution and Civil War in the Ukraine, 1919-20

113 Ukrainian historians of the Revolution and Civil War are often exceedingly biased in their accounts of military operations; see, for instance, Doroshenko, *Istoriya Ukrainy*, quoted above. General Denikin, also, cannot set aside his prejudices in writing of the 'Petlyurians' who not infrequently fought on his side against the Soviet forces; see General A. Denikin, *Ocherki Russkoy Smuty* (Sketches of the Russian Trouble), vols. 1-v, Berlin, 1925-9.

Much interesting material concerning the Volunteer Army is to be found in the almanack published in Berlin: *Beloe Delo* (The White Cause), vols. 1-vi, 1924-7. In the Soviet periodical, *Voyna i Revolyutsia* (War and Revolution), 1932-5, many episodes of the fighting against the 'Whites', the 'Petlyurians' and the Poles are described.

For the Anglo-French intervention see James Bunyan, *Intervention, Civil War and Communism in Russia*, 1918, Baltimore, 1936.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES TO CHAPTER VI 337

Not devoid of interest are the reminiscences of 'Bartko' Makhno which were published after his flight to Paris, evidently with the help of someone: Nestor Makhno, *Russkaya Revoliutsia na Ukraine* (The Russian Revolution in the Ukraine), vols. I-II, published by the Anarcho-Communist Group of North America and Canada. 113

(9) *Jewish Pogroms in the Ukraine, 1918-20*

Jewish organizations in Western Europe have thoroughly studied this question and a series of works has been published which give a good deal of information: Schechtman, *The Pogroms of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian Government, 1917-21*, London, 1927; by the same author, *Pogromy Dobrovolcheskoy Armii na Ukraine* (Pogroms of the Volunteer Army in the Ukraine), Berlin, 1922; I. Cherkower, *Antisemitizm i Pogromy na Ukraine*, Berlin, 1923.

(10) *The Ukrainian Delegation at the Peace Conference*

The disappointment of the Ukrainian delegates on account of the reception which they met with in Paris from the representatives of the Great Powers is minutely described in I. Borshak's *Ukraintsy na Mirnoy Konferentsii* (The Ukrainians at the Peace Conference), Lvov, 1928; interesting also is Arnold Margolin's book: *Ukraina i Politika Antanty* (The Ukraine and the Policy of the Entente), Berlin, 1922.

(11) *The Soviet Régime in the Ukraine, 1920-39*

Owing to the control exercised by the authorities over all publications, particularly of a political character, in U.S.S.R., Soviet sources concerning the Ukraine are of a strictly official nature. Therefore, if these sources have a considerable importance for assessing economic conditions or cultural phenomena (science, art, even past history), they always describe Ukrainian conditions from a very definite point of view. For the first period of the Soviet régime in the Ukraine, the sources are the official newspapers, *Izvestiya* and *Pravda* (1918-20), *Konstitutsia Sovetskikh Respublik* (The Constitution of the Soviet Republics), the daily *Visty* (in Ukrainian), Kiev, 1919, another daily *Kharkovski Rabochi* (in Russian), Kharkov, 1920. A publication of the Communist Academy should also be consulted: *Natsionalnaya Politika Vserossiyskoy Kommunisticheskoy Partii* (National Policy of the All-Russian Communist Party), Moscow, 1930. Information on political trials can be culled from a perusal of the files of the daily *Proletari*, Kharkov, 1934, in which the speeches pronounced at the Twelfth Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party are reproduced. Stalin's Constitution was published in Moscow in 1937.

The works of Russian and Ukrainian refugees, some of whom occupied official positions under the Soviet régime, offer a second important source of information. See, for instance, Isaac Mazepa (an associate of Petlyura), *Ukrayina pod Chervonoy Moskovoy* (Ukraine under Red Moscow), Lvov, 1935; M. Slavinski, *Natsionalno-Gosudarstvennaya Problema S.S.S.R.* (The National Problem as a State Problem in U.S.S.R.), Paris, 1938; V. Sadovski, *Natsionalnaya Politika Sovetov na Ukraine* (The National Policy of the Soviets in

- //3 the Ukraine), Warsaw, 1937; Pierre Brégy and Prince Serge Obolensky, *L'Ukraine—Terre Russe*, Paris, 1939.

A third group of sources is to be found in the accounts of foreign travellers who have visited the Ukraine during the last two decades. Although few of these would claim to have had a proper opportunity of forming a true impression of the political and social struggle which has been going on in the Ukraine, there are some foreign newspaper correspondents whose knowledge and contacts gave them certain facilities for securing information which no passing tourist (however enthusiastic) could acquire. The most distinguished of these correspondents (up to 1934) was Paul Scheffer of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and Dr Basseches of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

The writer of an article in the *Fortnightly Review* of October 1934 gave an important account of the famine in the regions of Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava and Kharkov. He confirmed the fact that cases of cannibalism had occurred. One of these cases later became known from Soviet sources, in consequence of a trial which took place in the town of Izyum in the region of Kharkov. A female shopkeeper named Kovaleva was sentenced to twenty-five years imprisonment for selling human flesh. She confessed that she had also done so during the famine of 1920-21.

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(12) *The Diplomatic Representation abroad of the Ukrainian S.S.R.*

A curious evolution in the views of the Soviet Government concerning the degree of independence to be enjoyed by the Ukrainian S.S.R. can be traced in the history of the diplomatic representation of the Republic abroad. After the first Constitution of the Ukrainian S.S.R. had been legalized in March 1920, a Commissariat of Foreign Affairs was established in Kharkov—which city had been made the capital of the Ukraine. The first Commissar for Foreign Affairs was Kovalev, who within a month was replaced by Rakovski—at that time also President of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars. In April 1920, Rakovski appointed his first diplomatic representative abroad in the person of M. Levitsky, who was sent to Prague, although the new Czech Republic had not yet recognized either the Soviet Union or the Ukrainian S.S.R. A little later a certain Aussem arrived as Ukrainian Ambassador in Berlin. In the autumn of 1921 a third Ukrainian diplomat appeared in Warsaw in the person of Shumsky. Not one apparently of the unfortunates who decorated the Ukrainian Foreign Office is alive to-day; all, including Rakovski, were 'eliminated' later—either with or without trial.

In 1920-21 Ukrainian representatives abroad were officially independent of Moscow, but they were under the orders of Rakovski. There existed, however, a secret decision of the Politbureau, according to which the Foreign Office of the U.S.S.R. had the right to send instructions to the Foreign Office of the Ukrainian S.S.R., and could interfere in the activities of the Ukrainian diplomats in the Central European capitals.

This situation continued until the new Constitution of the Union, proclaimed on 6 July 1923. The Ukrainian Commissariat for Foreign Affairs was then abolished. The Ukrainian representation abroad was fused with that of U.S.S.R.; but it was agreed that an Ukrainian Communist should be

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Outside Poland, Ukrainians are to be found in many European and American countries. Political and academic circles of Ukrainian intelligentsia are grouped round periodicals of varying views, but these circles consist of scores, perhaps, of persons out of the hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian land labourers who have migrated from over-populated Galicia. After the war and revolution thousands of fugitives from the South of Russia and Volhynia joined them. In the Ukrainian press from time to time appear statements that the number of Ukrainians in Western Europe reaches 500,000, in Canada over a million, in the United States about 700,000 and in South America 200,000. These figures are undoubtedly exaggerated. In France the number of refugees from the South of Russia who can be considered 'Ukrainians' did not exceed a few scores of thousands, and the same must be said about Czechoslovakia and Balkan countries. However, among the Polish agricultural workers and miners in France (900,000) a third came from Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. And there is no doubt that hundreds of thousands have migrated from Galicia to the United States and especially to Canada where, owing to hard work and a certain capacity for organization, brought over from their native land, many have attained prosperity. America is the land where emigrants from Europe keep together according to their nationality more than anywhere else. The Ukrainian emigration in Canada and the United States has retained a vivid interest in everything pertaining to Ukrainian nationality. It has its own press, publishes its books, teaches its language and history in its schools. The Ukrainians in America consider it their duty to respond to the appeals of the different Ukrainian parties and groups which have remained in Europe. Therefore echoes of all the different tendencies of Ukrainian political life can be found in Canada and the United States: 'pro-Russians' who do not wish to be called 'Ukrainians', adherents of U.N.D.O., followers of Colonel Konovalts, partisans of Petlyura and the 'Petlyurians', admirers of 'the young Hetman' Danylo Skoropadsky. However, purely ideological discussions are not so acute there as among the different 'fractions' in Europe. 'The united Ukrainian front' would have a better chance in emigration, because its basis would not be so much political activity, as a common historical tradition and a common love of the Ukrainian land.

(14) Literature on the Ukrainian Question

Numerous papers, mostly by well-known Ukrainian writers and political leaders, have appeared in the *Slavonic and East European Review*. These papers have made available to English readers information on various aspects of the Ukrainian Question. The following should be noted:

- Vol. v, No. 13, p. 169, Kolessa, A., 'Bibliography of the Ukrainian Language'.
 ix, No. 27, p. 367, Paneyko, B., 'Galicia and the Polish-Ukrainian Problem'.
Ibid. p. 88, Skorowski, S., 'The Ukrainian Problem in Poland'.
 x, No. 28, p. 116, Loś, S., 'Ukrainian Question in Poland'.
Ibid. p. 138, Borshak, E., 'Relations of England and Ukraine'.
 xii, No. 35, p. 323, Mazepa, I., 'Ukraine under Bolshevik Rule' (valuable, based on careful study of the Ukrainian Soviet press).
Ibid. No. 36, p. 622, Doroshenko, D., 'The Uniat Church in Galicia'.

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xiii, No. 37, p. 139, Kirkconnell, W., 'Ukrainian Poetry in Canada'.

Ibid. No. 38, p. 350, Shulgin, A., 'Ukraine and Its Political Aspirations'.

Ibid. Nos. 38, 39, pp. 363, 611, Krofta, K., 'Ruthenes, Czechs and Slovaks' (the official Czech view of the position of the Carpathian Ukrainians by the distinguished Czechoslovak politician).

Ibid. No. 38, p. 372, Voloshin, A., 'Carpathian Ruthenia' (the view of the luckless leader of the Carpathian Ukrainians).

xiv, Nos. 40-41, pp. 163, 372, Andrusiak, N., 'The Ukrainian Movement in Galicia'.

xvi, No. 48, p. 654, Doroshenko, D., 'Mykhailo Dragomanov and the Ukrainian National Movement' (a study of permanent value).

La Revue de Prométhée published in Paris and *East Europe* published in London have contained a number of topical articles on the Ukraine, many of which are of a polemical character. The former review is the organ of the Promethean League which professes to represent all the 'minority nationalities' of the former Russian Empire (i.e. Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Don and Kuban Cossacks, North Caucasia, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, the Ukraine, the Crimea, Ingria, Karelia, and the Komi (Zyryan) Region; the Armenians are, or were, not included). The League, which numbers among its members many notable political emigrants and writers of talent, held a 'First Promethean League Linguistic Congress' in Warsaw in the spring of 1936 (see *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, vol. iii, no. 1 (5)).

The principal source for the contemporary history of the Ukrainian movement in Galicia is the work of the leader of U.N.D.O.—Dr Kost Levitsky: *Historiya Politichnoy Dumky Halytskykh Ukraintsev, 1848-1914; na Podstavu Spomynov* (History of the Political Thought of the Galician Ukrainians; on the basis of (the author's) Reminiscences), Lvov, 1926. See also A. Shulgin, *L'Ukraine contre Moscou*, Paris, 1935; A. Martel, *La Langue Ruthène*, Paris, 1938.

The period between 1914-18 and 1939 can be studied in the Ukrainian periodical press: *Dilo, Zhive Slovo* (Lvov), *Nash Klych* (Peremyshl). See also the newspapers published in Russian in Podkarpatska Rus: *Russki Golos*, *Russki Vestnik* (Uzhhorod).

The different political orientations of Ukrainian groups in emigration are illustrated in the pages of *Svit* (America), *Trizub* (Petyurian), *Ukrainske Slovo* (the organ of U.N.U.), and *Ukraina*, also in *La Revue de Prométhée* (all published in Paris).

For the views of Russian polemicists on the subject see: Shchegolev, S., *Ukrainskoe Dvizhenie kak Sovremennyy Etap Yuzhno-Russkogo Separatizma* (The Ukrainian Movement as the Modern Stage of South Russian Separatism), Kiev, 1912; Volkonski, Prince A., *Istoricheskaya Pravda i Ukrainofilskaya Propaganda* (Historical Truth and Ukrainophil Propaganda), Turin, 1920 (also in an Italian translation); Tsarinny, A., *Ukrainskoe Dvizhenie* (The Ukrainian Movement), Berlin, 1922.

231/ a high standard of breeding—particularly of draught horses. The Army Remount Department fulfilled a third of its requirements in the south, and there was a considerable export abroad. As a result of the Revolution, breeding suffered probably more than any other branch of rural production. Statistics for 1922 illustrate the disastrous effect of the Revolution on livestock throughout the whole Empire. In 1916 the total head of cattle was about 60 million: in 1922, 23 million. The number of horses in 1916 was estimated at 35 million: in 1922 at 20 million. Sheep numbered 120 million in 1916: 46 million in 1922. In view of the fact that South Russia was the principal field of the Civil War, it is probable that about 50 per cent of the horses and cattle destroyed were lost in this region. It is reckoned that in the Ukraine and New Russia only one-third of the pigs remained and one-quarter of the sheep. Losses in domestic animals are much more difficult to recover than losses in other branches of domestic industry; further, the special conditions of field labour in New Russia required a large proportion of draught oxen and horses.

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433 One of the principal reasons which compelled Lenin to formulate the New Economic Policy was the necessity of restoring the food production of the Soviet Union.

“War Communism” and attempts to introduce “integral socialism” into the countryside ended in 1922. At that date began the period of “liberalism” in Communist policy in relation to the villages. The peasantry were allowed freedom in the choice of land labour and almost complete freedom in other economic activities. The years between 1922 and 1929 produced excellent results: the lost sowing area was recovered and breeding was resumed. The food question in the country was improving’ (Prof. Markov, *Socialist Economy in U.S.S.R.*, Part 2, *Agriculture*, Paris, 1937). By 1929 agricultural production approached pre-war standards (150–160 million quintals of cereals compared with 200 millions average for the years 1909–13). In spite of the fact that, following the break-up of large estates, the peasants had expanded the sown area at the expense of pasture (and according to the *Ukrainian Encyclopaedia* were showing a diminishing average on arable of 15–20 per cent as a result of more primitive methods of farming), the breeding of cattle and horses was nearing pre-war figures and the production of pigs was improving.

433 be held to have been primarily responsible for the backwardness of craftsmanship in the Ukraine nor of those 'light industries' which may be said to have taken the place of the crafts in the modern world. Crafts are created as a result of a long historical process which marches with the cultural development of a country. In the Ukraine a modern capitalist heavy industry was superimposed upon the structure of a rather backward rural economy in the latter half of the nineteenth century. By contrast France is the living embodiment of cultural processes which have produced a harmonious economic life where agriculture and both 'heavy' and 'light' industries are blended in such happy combination and where the work of craftsmen has reached perfection. But then France has a long independent historical past behind her, the political and social experiences of a nation of genius and great achievements in all the domains which challenge the human mind and human activities.

In this wise even 'the economic problem' of 'Greater Ukraine' is not limited by simple figures concerning her 'economic potentialities'. Therefore 'the political problem' which the present and future of the Ukraine represents becomes even more complex. With all the assets of her 'economic potentialities', with all the positive features which can be observed in her economic life even under present conditions, the Ukraine is still very far, as regards herself and other countries concerned, from a satisfactory solution of 'the political problem' of her form in the present and the future. The 'Ukrainian problem' is, perhaps, one of the chief reasons for the absence of balance in continental Europe.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND ADDITIONS TO CHAPTER VII

Sources for the Economic History of S.S.R. Ukraine

113 Any attempt to acquire an objective view of the course of economic life in the Soviet Union calls for an attentive, prudent and critical survey of the vast material published on the subject in Soviet periodicals during the past two decades. A work of this kind is beyond the resources of a single student and requires the corporate study of whole institutions, as for instance: the International Agricultural Institute in Rome; the East European Institute in Breslau (under the direction of Professor Auhagen); the Ukrainian Academy of Podedbrady (Czechoslovakia); the Economic Cabinet of Professor Prokopovich in Prague; the Society for the Study of Modern Russia in Paris; the Bureau for Researches on Russia in Birmingham.

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Particularly valuable is the material collated during recent years by Professor Prokopovich's Cabinet (unfortunately closed in 1938) and by the Birmingham Bureau of Professor Kononov (which terminated its activities in 1935). The Paris Society has published the very instructive and impartial works of Professor Markov: *Krisis Selskogo Khozyaystva v S.S.S.R.* (The Crisis in Agriculture in U.S.S.R.), Paris, 1933; *Sotsialisticheskoe Khozyaystvo v S.S.S.R.*; 1, *Promyshlennost*, 2, *Selskoe Khozyaystvo* (Socialist Economics in U.S.S.R.; 1, Industry, 2, Agriculture), Paris, 1937-8.

The principal Soviet publications on which the researches of the above institutions are based are:

Mirovye Khozyaystvo i Mirovaya Politika (World Economy and World Policy).

Sotsialisticheskaya Rekonstruktsia Selskogo Khozyaystva (Socialist Reconstruction of Rural Economy).

Sotsialisticheskoe Zemledelie (Socialist Agriculture).

Za Industrializatsiu (Towards Industrialization).

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn (Economic Life).

Plan (The Plan).

Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitelstvo (Socialist Building-up, Yearbook).

Planovoe Khozyaystvo (Planned Economy).

Khozyaystvenniya Problemy (Economic Problems).

Sotsialisticheski Transport (Socialist Transport).

Significant information may be extracted from the files of the leading daily papers in U.S.S.R.: *Izvestia* and *Pravda*. The provincial dailies published in the Ukraine contain many items of interest for the study of conditions in that Republic: *Sovetskaya Ukraina*; *Visty* (News); *Proletariy* (Proletarian); and others.

The Ukrainian emigration in Poland and Czechoslovakia has been responsible for the publication of a number of valuable works:

Ukrayinska Zahalna Entsiklopedia (Ukrainian General Encyclopaedia), vols. I-III, Lvov, 1935.

Atlas Ukrayiny (with statistical material), Lvov, 1938.

Glovinsky-Matsievich-Sadovsky, *Suchasni Problemy Ekonomiky Ukrayiny* (Present Problems of the Economics of the Ukraine), Lvov, 1930.

Ukrayinsky Statistichnyy Yezhehodnyk (Ukrainian Statistical Yearbook), Warsaw, 1936-7.

The following books, published recently, are also important:

Hoover, Calvin B. *La Vie Économique de la Russie Soviétique*, Paris, 1934.
Brutzkus, Prof. Boris. *U.R.S.S.—Terrain d'Expériences Économiques*, Paris, 1937.

Basily, N. de. *Russia under Soviet Rule*, London, 1938.

Brégy, P. and Obolensky, S. Prince. *L'Ukraine—Terre Russe*, Paris, 1939.

Mikhailov, N. *La Nouvelle Géographie de l'U.R.S.S.*, Paris, 1937.

Mercier, Ernest. *U.R.S.S. Reflexions*, Paris, 1936.

Handen. *Das Motorisierungs-potenzial der Soviet Union*, Hamburg, 1937.

- 113 The following Soviet books, in addition to the periodical publications, may also be consulted:

Mikhailov, I. *Evolutsia Russkago Transporta* (The Evolution of Russian Transport), Leningrad, 1925.
Ekonomicheskoe Polozhenie Sovetskago Soyuz (The Economic Situation of the Soviet Union), published by the Moscow Institute for Economics, Moscow, 1926.
Pyatiletni Plan razvitiya Narodnago Khozyaystva v S.S.S.R. (1928). Five Year Plan for developing the National Economy, I, II, Moscow, 1930.
Resultaty Vypolneniya pervago pyatiletnyago Plana (Results of the Execution of the First Five Year Plan), Moscow, 1933.
S.S.S.R. v Tsifrakh (The U.S.S.R. in Figures), Moscow, 1935.
Ekonomicheskaya Geografiya S.S.S.R. (The Economic Geography of the U.S.S.R.), published by the Communist Academy, Moscow, 1935.
U.S.S.R. Handbook, London, 1936.
Plan Narodnago Khozyaystva na 1936 god (Plan of National Economy for 1936), Moscow, 1936.

For economic conditions in Galicia see 'Galicia' in *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia* (The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia); *L'Annuaire Statistique de la Pologne*, Warsaw, 1935 and after.

Soviet Statistics

No less a person than the President of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, Orzhonikidze, during the Moscow Regional Congress of the Party in 1929, said: 'It would seem that no one should be more trustworthy than persons employed in statistical work, conscientiously adding up their figures—and that is all. But no! These people with us have become a political factor and are well aware of it.' Orzhonikidze further affirmed that: 'The Statistical Bureau makes a terrible muddle of all its materials.' In 1930 Syrtsov, who was then President of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, found that: 'The pace of production in Soviet statistics is ordered beforehand and is not a result of calculation' (*Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, 2/18 December, 1930).

Dr Albrecht Kaysenbrecht is of opinion that: 'Among the staff of the statistical workers are very experienced and scientifically well-qualified persons. The whole misfortune consists in the fact that Soviet statistics are the slave of the Government and are dominated by purely political considerations' (*Die Entwicklung der Agrärfrage in Soviet Russland*, Schmöllers Jahrbuch, 1926). In 1927 Trotsky expressed the opinion that intentionally faked statistics had begun to alter the whole outlook on the actual situation. 'The figures of Soviet statistics are very doubtful' is the view of Professor Auhagen (*Ost-Europa*, Breslau, June 1931).

As for agriculture, there is no doubt that the reports which come in every five days during the spring sowing season 'according to law' are frequently faked. The sowing area is often reckoned according to the quantity of seed which has been given out for this purpose without any assurance as to

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whether it has been properly used. For instance, one of the Ukrainian *Kolkhozy* reported that it had accomplished 50 per cent of the Sowing Plan when in reality it had only accomplished 2 per cent of it' (*Pravda*, 14 June, 1932). The harvest is continually assessed 'by the look of it in the fields' before it has been gathered in. Over a series of years the harvest has been between 20 and 30 per cent less than reports showed it to be. 113 ●

The comparisons between Soviet actuality and pre-Revolutionary conditions are often unconvincing because Soviet statistics do not take quality into consideration. For instance, according to Soviet statistics, the output of peat has risen by 30 per cent. In reality, only the percentage of moisture retained in the peat accepted for delivery has risen.

In the *Times* article on 'The Plight of the Plan' (29 January, 1938) this question of quantity being the chief concern, irrespective of quality, in all the most important branches of industry in Soviet Ukraine, is discussed: 'The coal-mines show impressive figures but quantity is the chief concern. This has risen threefold or fourfold in the last decades, but recent disclosures indicate that the calorific value of the coal leaving Soviet mines is less even than that of the output in old Russia. The production of iron ore has gone up at a similar rate, but the final result is similar.' Cf. Makcheef, Th. (Mak-sheev), 'Heavy Industry in the Soviet Union,' *Contemporary Russia*, II, 2, London, 1938.

The Territory of Soviet Ukraine

Out of the 588,000 sq. km. claimed for 'Greater Ukraine', Soviet Ukraine occupied (before the incorporation of Eastern Galicia in September 1939) 452,000. This area represents 2.1 per cent of the whole extent of the U.S.S.R. Soviet Ukraine occupies the territory of eight former Governments of the Empire: Kharkov, Chernigov (less five northern districts), Poltava, Ekaterinoslav (now renamed Dnepropetrovsk), Kherson, Podolia, Volhynia (excluding, until September 1939, the western districts annexed to Poland in 1921), Kiev. Three northern districts of the former Government of Tauris (Berdiansk, Melitopol, Dnieprovsk) are also included. The Putivl district of the former Kursk Government as well as some villages of the former Orel Government are also deemed to form part of the Ukraine. 131

In 1924 an 'Autonomous Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic' was formed out of the Podolian districts of Balta and Tulchin along the Dniestr in order to give a semblance of self-government to the Roumanian-speaking villages of that region. The area of A.S.S.R. Moldavia is 8288 sq. km. and the population 572,000. The capital is located at Tiraspol.

The capital of the Ukrainian S.S.R. until 1934 was Kharkov; it is now Kiev.

In 1925 the administrative divisions of the area occupied by the Republic were reorganized into 40 Districts, 662 Regions, and 10,733 village and town Soviets. In 1929 the Districts were abolished out of economy and 7 *Oblasti* (Provinces) were established, roughly equivalent in size to the former Governments. These are: Vinnitsa (formerly Podolia), Kiev, Dnepropetrovsk, Odessa, Kharkov, Chernigov and Donets. Seven 'National Minority' Regions have been set up, and also 366 'National Minority' village Soviets. 631

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Acknowledgments

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This volume is primarily based upon a series of detailed studies of Ukraine under the Soviets, which were prepared by a group of Ukrainian DP professors in Europe. They were selected by the Shevchenko Scientific Society and supported during their work by the Ukrainian National Association, which has provided the means for publication. They were:

Dm. Sv.—The Partisan Struggle in Ukraine

Ivan Koval—The Ukrainian Communists

Ivan Koval—The Russian Communists in Ukraine

Kost Pankivsky—Western Ukraine under Bolshevik Rule, 1939-1941

... —The Ukrainian Lands under Bolshevism up to World War II

Ol. Yurchenko—The State Legal System

Mykola Vasiliyiv—The Soviet Economic System

... —The Agricultural Exploitation of Ukraine

V. Marchenko—Social and Economic Conditions

K. Kononenko—The Agricultural Economy

... —Changes of Population in Ukraine

Y. Sherekh—Principles and Steps of the Soviet Linguistic Policy

M. Hlobenko—Ukrainian Literature

Ol. Ohloblyn—The Humanities under the Soviets

M. Mishchenko—Ukrainian Medicine

Ev. Olensky—Ukrainian Music

N. Makhiv—The Natural Sciences in Ukraine

Iv. M.—Ukrainian Religious Life

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ABBREVIATIONS

- 113 THE CODE LETTERS preceding the documents in the various collections listed in this bibliography have the following significance:

CXL	(The numerical designation of the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine documentary series on Eastern Europe)
EC	Economic (referring to Nuremberg collection on cases arising in connection with economic matters)
NO	Nuremberg, Organizations (referring to documents collected for proceedings against Nazi organizations)
NOKW	Nuremberg, Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (referring to documents collected for trial of German army officers)
Occ E	Occupation, East (referring to documents in the Yiddish Scientific Institute pertaining to the German occupation in Eastern Europe)
PS	Paris—Storey (referring to documents collected at Paris for the Nuremberg Trials by Colonel Robert G. Storey, an American officer)
USSR Exhibit	(Referring to documents presented by the Soviet prosecution staff at Nuremberg)

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SOME OF the documentary material listed below has been published in International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (42 vols.; Nuremberg, 1947-49), and *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10* (14 vols.; Nuremberg, 1946-49); and in United States, Office of United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (8 vols. and supplementary volumes; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946-48). A large majority of the documents concerning Ukrainian affairs were not printed in these series, however. The sections dealing with Ukrainian nationalism were frequently omitted even from the documents printed, because these passages were not considered relevant to the judicial proceedings. Consequently, the documents listed below, and cited in the body of this study, are originals, or photostat or mimeographed copies, with the exception of a few cases in which only the English translation was available in mimeographed form.

Declaration of Ukrainian National Committee, March 17, 1945.
Printed text in possession of General Paul Shandruk.

Documents and depositions collected for the trial of the major Axis war criminals by the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg. PS, EC, and USSR Exhibit series, of which photostats are available in the National Archives of the United States, Washington.

Documents and depositions collected for the trials of war criminals conducted by the United States Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, of which photostats, mimeographed reproductions, translations, or summaries (Staff Evidence Analyses) are available in various major libraries. The documents and depositions in this category used for this study are in the NO or NOKW series. Collections in the Library of Congress, Washington; the Columbia University Libraries, New York; and the Mid-West Interlibrary Center, Chicago, have been utilized.

Documents in the archives of the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Paris, in the CXL series.

Documents in the archives of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, New York, in the Occ E series.

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Proclamation of leading citizens of Kiev recognizing Ukrainian state proclaimed in L'vov, June 30, 1941, dated July 6, 1941. Typescript in the possession of Volodymyr Stakhiv.

Proclamation of the Ukrainian state in L'vov, June 30, 1941. Type-written copy in the possession of Volodymyr Stakhiv.

UHVR, document among uncatalogued captured materials in the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, Palo Alto, California.

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MAPS

The Ukraine is covered by eight sheets (Bucarest, L. 35; Odessa, L. 36; Rostov, L. 37; Krakau, M. 34; Jitomir, M. 35; Kiev, M. 36; Kharkov, M. 37; Smolensk, N. 36) of the International Map (G.S.G.S. No. 2758) published by the War Office on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000.

A special map of the Ukraine, on the scale of 1 : 4,500,000, has been issued by George Philip & Son (London Geogr. Institute).

771 titude of mysterious, evil forces which he endeavours either to
 789 ally himself with, propitiate, or combat in order to assure him-
 self of good luck or avert the many calamities which these
 supernatural powers may bring. Magical beliefs and practices
 are therefore widespread and deeply rooted among the people.
 Even where the church has opposed and tried to counteract the
 older notions and usages, its success has been at best only par-
 tial. What it often has effected was a change in form, or the
 substitution of an authorized rite for an ancient magical practice.²
 The priest, for example, sometimes takes the place of the sorcerer
 by holding a special midnight Mass, the *czorna sluzba* (black
 service), at the instigation of a person who wishes to harm an
 enemy.³ At other times he acts as medicine man, e.g. by stepping
 [347] over the back of an ailing parishioner in order to relieve his
 backache.⁴ A case of substitution is noticeable in the rite
 observed before moving into a newly constructed house. Where-
 ever the old practices of sacrificing a black rooster, as an
 offering to the Devil or as a preventive against disease, has be-
 come extinct, its equivalent has appeared in the solemn con-
 secration of the house by the priest.⁵

754 Among the Ukrainians, as elsewhere, magical beliefs and prac-
 791 tices have two main aspects, which may be termed respectively
 789 the black and white arts. While the former has its prime source
 in the arch enemy of man, the Devil, the latter, which functions
 mainly to counteract evil influences, relies on some powerful
 medium, sometimes God himself, to neutralize or overcome the

101 Russian, people inhabiting South Russia. They occupy the eastern
 section of the former Austrian province of Galicia, which is at present
 part of Poland. They number approximately 3,000,000 and belong
 almost exclusively to the peasant class. Geographically, and to a
 certain extent also culturally, they may be divided into lowlanders
 and highlanders, the former inhabiting the plains to the north and the
 latter the Carpathian mountains to the south.

• [113] ² Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina
 und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi, 282.

³ Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Kuzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 277.

⁴ Kaindl, R. F. "Neue Beiträuge zur Ethnologie und Volkskunde der
 Huzulen," *Globus*, lxi, 71.

⁵ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 282.

forces of evil. The agents of the former include the witch and the wizard; and those of the latter, the fortune-teller, the soothsayer, the conjuror, and, in cases of sickness, the healer. Between these two groups of "professional" intermediaries between the supernatural and natural worlds stands the ordinary non-professional man or woman, who, by using certain formulas or more concrete means, can also invoke superhuman intervention.

A person associated with powers of evil, though difficult or impossible to recognize by ordinary means, since he usually looks exactly like any other human being, can be singled out much more easily by his actions, and especially by the results he is supposed to obtain. Thus a successful person, it is thought, is necessarily allied in one way or another with the Devil, or his assistants. A man who has luck in hunting or fishing is undoubtedly in communication with the Devil.⁶ A woman who repeatedly returns from the woods with her basket full of mushrooms, or whose cow continuously yields more than an average quantity of milk, is nothing but a witch who is using her unholy powers to her own profit and, usually, also the detriment of her neighbours.⁷ Indeed, there is not a wealthy or successful person in the village or town who is not in league with the Devil.⁸ A peasant, therefore, who has luck with his crops and cattle most likely receives help from evil spirits; and a manufacturer who makes money from his factory in town does so because he has demons to work for him.⁹ Thus, although there exist special means of detection, which, as we shall see, are made use of when necessary, mere good fortune is the simplest criterion.

Among individuals occupied with the black art, the witch (*widma*) wields by far the greatest power.¹⁰ Just as after death she becomes the most feared of evil spirits, so during her life she is considered the most dangerous of the Devil's disciples. The

⁶ Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁸ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 229, 232.

⁹ Onyščuk, A. "Materyaly do huculskoi demonologii," *Materyaly do Ukrainskoi Etnologii* (L'viv, 1909), xl, 73.

¹⁰ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280.

754 people know, therefore, of no more derogatory term to apply to a woman than "witch."¹¹ In her ordinary life, the *widma* resembles other women in every respect; only in action does she take on a weird or unhuman aspect. Then she is found walking around in a totally nude state with her hair in disorder, carrying in her right hand a baking spatula or a broom and in her left a bucket filled with milk stolen from strange cows.¹² She may also appear in the form of a dog, mouse, cat, or other animal,¹³ of a flashing, transparent ball rolling in the air,¹⁴ or of sparks escaping from a chimney.¹⁵

754
774 The *widma* is not only a close ally of the Devil, but also a faithful servant ever ready to fulfil his commands. Besides the personal advantage which she derives from her destructive activities, she experiences a devilish pleasure in harming people, especially those whom she considers her enemies. Quiescent during the daytime, she begins her depredations only after dusk (*pidweczer*).¹⁶ Nobody in the house is aware of her activities, for only her spirit leaves, her body remaining in a sleeping or dormant state. But if her spirit experiences any harm during its nightly excursions, the mark of the injury is registered simultaneously upon the motionless body at home.¹⁷ Its activities finished, the spirit returns to the body, but can re-enter it only if it has remained in exactly the same position as it was left; otherwise the body cannot come to life again. It is enough to turn the body over to prevent the spirit from becoming re-united with it.¹⁸ Thus during the Austro-Prussian war a soldier stayed overnight with a certain family. He became aware that the housewife was a witch and decided to play a trick on her. After her spirit had left, he turned the body over. Since, as a consequence, the spirit could not re-enter it, the woman was found lifeless when morning came. However, when the husband, thinking his wife dead, had summoned his neighbours and begun to make funeral preparations, the soldier

¹¹ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280. ¹² *Idem*. ¹³ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 131.

¹⁴ Szuchiewicz, W. *Huculszczyzna* (Lwów, 1902-8, 4 vols.) iv, 283.

¹⁵ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 231.

¹⁶ *Idem*.

¹⁷ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 131.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

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country on the other side has plenty while there is starvation at home.²⁴ Witches are also held responsible for hails, storms, floods and drought.²⁵ 754

The commonest speciality of witches, however, is the bewitching or drying up of cows. The methods and means employed are many. Some believe that the *widma* simply milks the cow once in the usual way. Others assert that she takes some milk from the victimized cow, especially on the eve of St. George or St. John, and with it smears the teats of her own cow, which then gives milk in abundance while the udder of the bewitched animal dries up or yields only blood. According to some, the witch need not even actually touch or see the cow she wishes to charm; she has only to think of a particular animal to receive her milk, which in such a case flows from a door post, table, bench, or other object in the house.²⁶ Hence a witch does not actually have to possess a cow in order to have milk. "Marusia of Ispas never had a cow, but nevertheless always enjoyed an abundant supply of milk, and even had enough to sell; this astounded the people greatly until Petro Hyrak once came to her and found her milking a board."²⁷

Although hated and despised, a witch must never be openly insulted or mistreated. In mentioning a witch, one should always append a curse, such as: "May she disappear"; "May the Devil stand between her eyes and the bear between her shoulders."²⁸ [789]

The wizard (*opyr*), although as harmful as his female counterpart, is considered lower in rank and is, in general, less frequently encountered.²⁹ He is even forced to serve the witch, e.g. as the steed on which she rides to her meetings, but he has the power to counteract any harm she may intend to do him.

²⁴ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 232-3.

²⁵ Kaindl, R. F. "Wetterzauberei bei den Rutenen und Huzulen," *Mittheilungen der k.k. geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxxvii, 637. [113]

²⁶ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 254.

²⁷ Kolberg, O. *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 128.

²⁸ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 231.

²⁹ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 109.

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PART II

The White Art: Counteracting Means

The Ukrainian peasant believes that all calamities can be avoided or removed by conjuration, by the use of mysterious concoctions, or by other magical means. Counteracting the work of the Devil and his associates and inducing good luck are the special business of the professional soothsayer or conjuror, but even the ordinary person with no pretensions to extraordinary power can do much in this direction. Without employing the services of a professional conjuror he can, for instance, ward off evil from his cattle, assure himself of good luck in an enterprise, bring harm to his enemies, force a favourable turn in his love affair, foretell the future, and even banish an impending storm from his fields. 789 [791]

Thus in order to protect their cattle from harm, or to alleviate damage already done, on the eve of St. George people fasten brooms on long poles (*wichy*) to their gates as a notification to witches to leave the farmstead undisturbed.³⁶ The first milk from a cow that has calved is salted and poured into her drinking water. Old horseshoes are scattered around the yard, since it is thought that cattle stepping over them cannot be bewitched. To remove the spell on a cow, she is given a drink of holy water mixed with petals from a consecrated Palm Sunday branch; to make this potion even more effective some sulphur is added. If a cow has been taken sick and the owner does not know the reason thereof, the best thing to do is to "extinguish some coals." The peasant, or the soothsayer in his stead, throws glowing coals into a bucket of water; if they sink, the cow is bewitched. To bring her back to health it is only necessary to spill the water upon a black dog; the malady then passes to the dog, and the cow recovers. So greatly does the peasant fear possible harm to his cattle, that he often refrains from even the seemingly most innocent expressions. Instead of saying, for example, "The milk is boiling," he says "The milk is warming up."³⁷ 789 777

³⁶ Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 124. [113] •

³⁷ Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 234-255.

789 The most effective way of assuring oneself of good luck and
 777 prosperity is to ally oneself in some way with the Devil. The
 usual method is to sell him one's soul. A person wishing to do
 this draws up a formal contract, written with blood drawn from
 his little finger, whereby Satan is obligated to serve him through-
 out his life but in return gains possession of his soul after death.³⁸
 One who has entered into such a pact with the Devil can share
 his benefits with another by selling the latter a lesser devil, who
 will bring him luck in all his undertakings.³⁹ A person cannot only
 buy a devil but also make one for himself. To do so he secures
 a partly developed egg from the body of a dissected hen and keeps
 it under his arm for nine consecutive days, even when walking
 and sleeping, taking care the while not to wash himself or comb
 his hair and, above all, not to pray. If he observes these rules
 there will hatch out of the egg a little devil, called *chowanec*
 (the nurtured), who too will serve him only on condition that he
 promise him his soul after death.⁴⁰ Another way of enlisting the
 services of the Devil is to stand at a crossways after midnight
 and call him thrice by name, whereupon Satan appears in person
 and gives the suppliant a coin (*inkluz*) which always brings him
 good luck.⁴¹

Any person, it is believed, can attain to supernatural or extra-
 ordinary powers if only he has a strong will, determination and
 courage, and can hold a secret. Thus one can gain control over
 hail by stealing a piece of wood from the church and having the
 priest (unwittingly, of course) read twelve masses over it.⁴² A
 thief, to avoid detection, uses a curious amulet consisting of a
 human shin-bone emptied of its marrow and filled with candle
 wax. If he walks three times around a house with such a candle,
 all its occupants sink into a death-like slumber, and he can steal
 whatever he pleases with no danger of being caught.⁴³

Mastery in any of the arts is attainable only with the help of

³⁸ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 86. ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 86. ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

⁴¹ Hnatiuk, V. "Znadoby do halicko-ruskoi demonologii," *Etno-
 graficznyj Zbirnyk* (Lwiv, 1904), xv, 255.

⁴² Szuchiewicz, W. *Huculszczyzna*, (Lwów 1902-8, 4 vols.), i, 54.

⁴³ Kaindl, R. F. "Zauber Glaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina
 und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi, 282.

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expert. The simplest means is to toss holy water from an elevated place towards a threatening hail cloud. Another way of averting hail or an approaching storm is to light candles consecrated at Epiphany, or to put an oven spatula and a broom crosswise in front of the door. A further effective way of preventing hail is to take a piece of black cloth which has been used to wrap the feet, light it, and throw it half burned into the open. If this does not help, then the straw upon which someone has died is used instead. The most universal means, however, is the ringing of church bells, specially consecrated for the purpose, for as long as the danger lasts. Individual fields can be insured against hail throughout the year by burying consecrated Easter bread in the corners of the field.⁶⁰ An effective annual "insurance policy" can be taken out on Christmas Eve. Among the mountaineers it is the women who are entrusted with this task. After having fasted all day long, they repair with the approach of evening to their gardens and fields. There they walk around with their apron-dresses over their heads uttering their conjuration formulas. Upon their return home they immediately set the table, and, putting upon it their best food, they ask the Hail to enter as a guest, entreating him not to bother them during the year.⁶¹

The people also know of many ways to bring rain when it is badly needed. The means, once more, range from the simplest to the most complex and elaborate practices. Rain can sometimes be induced by merely plucking some grass with the hand, by overthrowing a cross in the graveyard, or by throwing a poppy-head into a well. Another method is for the woman to refrain from washing clothes in the river, waiting stubbornly for rain. Still another is to kill a rooster on the bank of a river and then throw its blood and head into the water.⁶² A curious means for breaking a long drought employed by people of certain villages towards the end of the last century is recorded by Kolberg.⁶³

⁶⁰ Kaindl, R. F. "Wetterzauberei bei den Rutenen und Huzulen," *Mitt. der k.k. geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxxvii, 625, 628.

⁶¹ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253.

⁶² Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. geogr. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 639.

⁶³ Pokucie, iii, 122-3.

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people seize stones and with them beat their foreheads three ⁷⁵¹ times, saying: "Stone-head, stone-head, stone-head." This is supposed to make the head as hard as stone, i.e. immune to any ache.⁷⁵

The evil spirits residing in natural phenomena can be a source ⁸²¹ of danger unless one takes the necessary precautions. When it ⁷⁸⁹ thunders and lightens, one should avoid walking along the road, and should sit down somewhere at the side, because God is shooting at the fleeing Devil and his arrows may accidentally kill the wayfarer.⁷⁶ One should do the same in the case of a dust storm, for its indwelling Devil is likely to harm a Christian.⁷⁷ One can lessen the severity of a blizzard (*metylycia*), and cause it to subside, by throwing sharp edged sticks at the driving snow. Falling hail can also be rendered harmless by catching the first hailstones, chewing them, and spitting them on the ground; "the horns of the evil spirit are then chewed off," and the hail loses its harmfulness in that locality.⁷⁸

PART III

Healing by Magic

Disease, like other calamities, is attributed by the people to ⁷⁵³ evil spirits. It is the incessant activities of a multitude of supernatural beings, the people believe, that cause the many afflictions that befall the human body and soul.⁷⁹ Epidemic and fatal diseases are personified as supernatural women. The female personification of the plague, according to a popular story, once made a young peasant carry her on his shoulders. Wherever he went people began to die by the thousands. Finally he attempted to get rid of his dread burden by throwing himself into a river. It was he alone, however, who drowned; the plague, being light

⁷⁵ Kolessa, F. "Ludowy wiruwanie na pidhirju," *Etnograficzny Zbirnyk* (L'viv, 1898), v, 77. [113]

⁷⁶ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 91.

⁷⁷ Kolessa, F. *op cit.*, v, 76.

⁷⁸ Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 234.

⁷⁹ Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), 160.

753 as a feather, escaped. She was so frightened, nevertheless, that she fled to the forest and forsook her activities, so that the epidemic ceased.⁸⁰

755 One way of avoiding death or serious harm is to propitiate the spirits through vows.

782 It happens often that a sick person makes a vow (*zarikajet sie*), i.e. a promise, that if he regains his health, he will forego certain pleasures in life, or abstain from some pleasant task. A certain woman, for example, accidentally drove a needle into the palm of her hands, and when the physician, after chloroforming her, removed the needle, the convalescent pledged herself never again to sew embroidered shoulder-pieces on to a shirt of hers. This promise she kept religiously, sewing only on shirts belonging to others. Another woman, in order to rid herself of a headache, promised that she would not spin on Fridays; when relieved, she occupied herself every Friday with a different task in order to avoid spinning. A peasant in order to preserve his cattle during an epidemic that had broken out, solemnly vowed to give up drinking liquor for half a year, and when his cattle were saved he kept his word.⁸¹

755 Believing in the supernatural causation of disease, the people have little faith in scientific medical treatment, if they do not ignore it altogether. Poverty, though doubtless a factor, is far less important than the conviction, fully compatible with the prevailing conception of disease, that the native medicine-men and their remedies are more reliable than physicians and their medications. That the question of money is not decisive can be seen from the fact that quack doctors often receive larger fees than trained physicians. Even when given free treatment and medicine, an individual often puts aside the medicament and then boasts that he has gotten well because he has not used it.⁸² While he places full confidence in his own remedies,

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⁸⁰ Woycicki, K. W. *Polnische Volkssagen und Maerchen* (Berlin, 1839), pp. 23-4.

⁸¹ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 160.

⁸² Kaindl, R. F. *Die Huzulen* (Wien, 1894), p. 93.

sanctioned by the tradition of generations, he looks upon all medicines prescribed by a physician with a certain suspicion.⁸³ 755

Popular remedies fall roughly into three categories: (1) amulets and other prophylactic and precautionary means, (2) incantations, and (3) concoctions, compounded of strange and varied elements from the animal, plant, and mineral worlds. Only in serious, persistent, or complicated cases, or in those ascribed to the direct influence of spirits, e.g. snake-bite, fright,⁸⁴ partial paralysis, and stomach disorders,⁸⁵ does the peasant consult a professional healer, man or woman: otherwise he uses the standard remedies passed on from generation to generation. Many of the treatments hereinafter to be described, therefore, are often undertaken without the help of a healer.⁸⁶ [75]

The healer, who is called *znachor* (fem. *znachorka*) from *znaty* (to know), is not a wizard, nor is he in league with any of the forces of evil. His sole power and function is to combat or counteract ailments by performing conjurations and compounding remedies; he thus plays the role of physician. He is, to be sure, endowed with supernatural powers—he is even referred to as the "earthly god"—but he gets these from God himself.⁸⁷ As a matter of fact, the priest and his assistant, it is thought, can sometimes counteract the work of the Devil by ridding a person of his malady. Thus in some sections of the mountains the people commonly seek the aid of the sexton in case of illness. This official inserts a knife between the pages of the church prayer book as many times as are necessary to find the alleged "right place," charging the patient a certain fee for each insertion. He then reads from the book, as if they were written there, the causes and cure of the disease. This practice is said to be slowly becoming obsolete, but it is still not unusual for priests to undertake to cure people by special Masses and prayers and by consecration with holy water.⁸⁸

⁸³ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 160.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-69.

⁸⁵ Kolberg, *O. Przemyśkie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 239.

⁸⁶ *Idem.*

⁸⁷ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161; Szuchiewicz, *W. Huculszczyzna* (Lwów, 1902-08, 4 vols.) iv, 297, 312.

⁸⁸ Kaindl, R. F. "Aus der Volksueberlieferung der Bojken," *Globus*, lxxix, 152. [113]

755. Although the *znachor*, especially one of reputation, can diagnose and treat any disease, he often specializes in particular ailments, e.g. fevers, paralysis, headaches, or snake-bite. He keeps his formulas and concoctions strictly secret, for a knowledge of them by others would impair if not invalidate his powers.⁸⁹ The formulas and recipes are much more numerous and varied than the ailments themselves; for curing fever, for instance, there are not less than seventy-seven remedies, corresponding to seventy-seven causes, i.e. spirits.⁹⁰ They range from the simplest prescriptions, e.g. to drink water drawn from a well before sunrise, to the most complicated compounds of herbs, animal and human exuviae and excrements, insects, dirt, etc., accompanied by elaborate verbal formulas and grotesque performances. While certain remedies are the private property of an individual healer and are only effective when performed or suggested by him, others are common knowledge and freely used by the people.

[754] The *znachor* or *znachorka*, is also an expert in inducing love, causing barren women to conceive, foretelling future events, and even settling difficult family problems.⁹¹ Healers of reputation, like expert weather-men, are comparatively few in number—very often only one in a considerable territory—and are widely sought after. People often travel many miles to consult a master healer, and pay large fees for his services.⁹²

The *znachor* ascribes his power to his special endowment from God, and his knowledge of the medicinal properties of different ingredients to a secret source which he cannot divulge. Every healer has his own fast-day, when he communes with God.⁹³ He knows which wells have water containing therapeutic qualities and what herbs are good for particular diseases. He gathers the herbs at certain seasons of the year and at prescribed hours during the day, and keeps them in readiness at his home. It is noteworthy that this mysterious art of healing, being the pro-

⁸⁹ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁹¹ Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 233.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 277; Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

⁹³ Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, iv, 297.

7 [healer -- analyst]

perty of an individual, can be stolen.⁹⁴ Usually, however, it is transmitted from father to son.⁹⁵ 755

That the people, at least those seeking his advice, consider the *znachor* as endowed with unusual powers is obvious. But how does he regard himself? Does he really believe in his art, or does he merely take advantage of the ignorance of the people? There is no doubt that many actually believe in their extraordinary powers and in the effectiveness of their remedies.⁹⁶ On the other hand, however, there are those who admit, when pressed hard, that they sometimes delude and even mislead their patients,⁹⁷ while others claim—only before intelligent people, of course—that their conjurations really consist largely of Christian prayers, which cannot, at the worst, do any harm to the patient.⁹⁸

The excuse for an obvious failure is the usual one of the shaman, or, for that matter, of quacks all over the world, namely, that the patient did not follow the directions strictly. This the healer usually finds very easy, since he often requires impossible tasks of his patients. He claims, for example, that the recommended water was not drawn from the well in the specified hour or manner, or that the coals over which he pronounced his conjuration were not taken from a "living" fire.⁹⁹ In one case two Jewish girls, who had come from afar to a famous *znachor* for a love potion, were sent all the way back on foot to fetch new containers, since those they had brought with them had been used and the potion poured into them would thus have had no effect.¹⁰⁰

In mild cases and in those of chronic or general ill health, the healer, as a rule, merely offers advice. He tells the patient that his affliction is caused perhaps by the fact that he has built his house on the head of a demon, or that he has unwittingly dug up the root of a lilac bush, or that he has started some task at

⁹⁴ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

⁹⁵ Kaindl, R. F. "Neue Beitræge zur Ethnologie und Volkskunde der Huzulen," *Globus*, lxix, 74.

⁹⁶ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 217.

⁹⁷ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxix, p. 74.

⁹⁸ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

⁹⁹ Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, iv, 313.

¹⁰⁰ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxix, 74.

BELIEFS REGARDING THE SOUL AND THE FUTURE
WORLD AMONG THE GALICIAN UKRAINIANS

775 THE departed soul, it is believed by the Ukrainian peasant, does not enter the other world immediately, except in the case of baptized children. It accompanies its body to the place of burial,¹ and returns home with its relatives.² When the mourners leave the cemetery, therefore, they are careful to follow the same route as on the outgoing journey, so as not to cause the soul any inconvenience; otherwise it might lose its way, and wander around before finding its way home.³ Moreover, when the rela-

113 ¹ Onyśčuk, A. "Materyaly do huculskoi demonologii," *Materyaly do Ukrainshoi Etimologii*, xi (L'viv, 1909), 48.

² Szuchiewicz, W., *Huculasyryms*, (Lwów, 1902-08, 4 vols.) ii, 275.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, 273.

775 tives and guests sit down to their post-funeral dinner—a meal nearly as elaborate as that at a christening or a wedding⁴—a candle, preferably one used at the funeral, is lit and put on the oven, and beside it are placed a glass of brandy and a morsel of bread, in the conviction that the soul will thus participate in the meal.⁵ The mountaineers, for a similar reason, usually scatter a little flour on the table and window sill. In the morning they even prove that the soul has touched the flour by pointing to traces which have unquestionably been left by cockroaches and flies.⁶ For several days, bread and brandy or water are offered anew each day.⁷ In some localities the relatives visit the grave on the third day after the funeral, and place upon it little loaves of bread, cheese, milk, flour, dried prunes, or other foods. After the priest, who is present on such occasions, has finished his prayer, the food is distributed among the poor.⁸ On a Sunday a few weeks later, if possible on Easter Sunday, the visit to the grave and the food offering are repeated.⁹ These sacrifices to the dead, called *mesoczky* or *perepiczky*, can be explained in two possible ways; either as gifts of food for actual consumption by the dead, or—as is more likely—as attempts to propitiate the ghost, especially a vampire, and thus escape its evil influences.¹⁰ The people are totally unaware of the meaning of the practice. When asked for an explanation, they reply: “*Tak si hodyt*” (this is as it should be).

Before departing for the other world, the soul roams about on earth for forty days, during which time it makes nightly visits to its former home.¹¹ According to some, it must spend seven years on earth and revisit all the places where during its lifetime

13 ⁴ Kolberg, O., *Pokucie*, (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), i, 219.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 219.

⁶ Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 275.

⁷ Kaindl, R. F. “Die Seele und ihr Aufenthaltsort nach dem Tode in dem Volksglauben der Rutenen und Huzulen,” *Globus*, lxxvii (Braunschweig, 1895), 358.

⁸ Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 277.

⁹ Kaindl, R. F., *Die Huzulen* (Wien, 1894), p. 129.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 127 n.

¹¹ Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvii, 357.

715 it did anything good or bad.¹² During its nightly visits to its old home it enters the room quietly, even though the doors and windows be shut, uncovers the children and rocks them, and sometimes plays practical jokes on the members of the family.¹³ It retains the power to harm, however, only for one year after the funeral, and the members of the family consequently fear it most during this period.¹⁴ Especially must it be guarded against on the night following the funeral. On this night the members of the household of the deceased must not go to sleep, but must continue their vigil as in the two preceding nights. Although some of the participants in the post-funeral dinner leave after a few hours, others remain in the house to keep the mourners company. In order to keep awake, the watchers resort to various tricks to evoke laughter and ban sleep. As soon as one dozes off, for example, another smears soot on his face, fastens a rag to his coat, or sews his coat to that of another, and the ensuing laughter causes the napping one to awake.¹⁵

The other world, it is believed, is very distant, and the journey thither takes many days. The mountaineers believe that the soul travels on horseback,¹⁶ and that the road is beset with obstacles and strewn with thorns. To reach the other world the soul must also cross a fathomless sea. If it is deserving, the Mother of God carries it over the water in a tightly woven net.¹⁷

The peasant conceives the future world in terms of the one he lives in. In heaven, people continue their daily existence much as they did on earth. They lead, to be sure, a life "where neither the burning sun, nor wind and storm disturb the perfect tranquility." But they occupy houses exactly like those found in the native villages, and they eat food which differs in no way from the regular peasant diet. Shepherds busy themselves tending cattle upon rich pastures, and tillers of the soil do their

¹² Onyścuk, *op. cit.*, xi, 48.

113 ¹³ Kolessa, J., "Narodziny i chrzciny, wesele i pogrzeb u ludu ruskiego," *Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej*, xiii, (Kraków, 1889), 150.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii, 150.

¹⁶ Kandl, in *Globus*, lxxvii, 358.

¹⁵ Kolberg, *op. cit.*, i, 219.

¹⁷ Sznuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 274.

SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS AMONG THE GALICIAN UKRAINIANS

BY SAMUEL KOENIG

716 THE Ukrainian peasant of south-eastern Poland or Galicia looks upon all the forces of nature as actuated by spirits which must be conceived of as mainly ghost-derived. True nature spirits, whatever importance they may once have had, play to-day only a minor role in the folk beliefs of the Galician Ukrainians.¹ In the spirit environment of the peasant, their place is taken by two classes of beings: the Devil with his cohorts, and the ghosts of the dead.² It is to these that the various calamities and afflictions that befall man are attributed, and against them that all possible defensive measures are directed.

The most important spirit, and the most generally feared, is the Devil (*didko*). He causes extremes in natural phenomena with all their disastrous results to man. He brings, not only hail and whirlwinds, but also floods and excessive droughts. Indeed, he or his demons lie behind every mysterious force.³

As to the appearance of the Devil, popular beliefs are at variance. In general, he is thought to assume human shape, but he is black and has horns and a fiery tongue. Although

● 113 ¹ Even Baba Jeudocha, the personification of the snowstorm, and Did (Old Man), the grim winter god who is symbolically burned some days after Christmas, can hardly be looked upon as strict nature spirits; both are said to have been originally human beings who turned into spirits only after their death. (See Kaindl, R. F., "Wetterzauberei bei den Rutenen und Huzulen," *Mittheilungen der k.k. geogr. Gesellschaft*, XXXVII (Wien, 1894), 631, 636.)

² Zelenin, D., *Russische (Ostslavische) Volkskunde* (Berlin, 1927), p. 384.

³ Onyščuk, A., "Materyaly do Huculskoi Demonologii," *Materyaly do Ukraïnskoï Etnologii* (Lviw, 1909), XI, 72-3.

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776 he may take the form of either sex, the Devil himself is a male.⁴ Sometimes he appears as a chimney sweep, when he has wings like a bat, tangled horns like a ram, and a tail.⁵ The Devil can change his shape to suit his fancy, and can assume almost any form, e.g., that of a baby, a cow, a pig, an insect, a worm, or a straw.⁶ Even when visible in no concrete form, he may nevertheless be present. When one sees a flash of light from afar at dusk, or hears a sudden whisper or rustle, one is certain it is the Devil, whose unseen presence is felt everywhere.⁷ The Devil fears nothing save God, the cross, and holy water.⁸ Nevertheless, he is mortal, and is particularly vulnerable to lightning. During a thunderstorm he seeks any available cover, but Elijah's arrow discovers him, and destroys him and his shelter.⁹ His ordinary abode is hell, whence he ascends at night to pursue his baneful activities on earth.¹⁰

551 The people, as a rule, carefully avoid mentioning the name
776 of the Devil (*didko* or *czort*). To utter it would be blasphemy (*lichoslowyty*), and to blaspheme against the Devil is a serious sin (*hrich welykyy*).¹¹ The people, therefore, usually resort to a circumlocution and call him *win* (he), *tot szczyby* (that one, may he be lost!), *zlyj duch* (the evil spirit),¹² or *neczystyy* (the unclean one).¹³ His name may be mentioned, however, in extreme anger,¹⁴ or he may be called familiarly by a nickname, such as Fedko or Chitko.¹⁵ To some individuals, who have formed a pact with the Devil and have sold him their souls, he is harmless and even exceedingly helpful in attaining power and wealth.

113 ⁴ Kaindl, R. F., *Die Huzulen* (Wien, 1894), p. 81.

⁵ Onyščuk, *op. cit.*, XI, 72.

⁶ Kolberg, O., *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 232.

⁷ *Idem*.

⁸ Kolberg, O., *Pokucie* (Kraków, 4 vols., 1882-9), III, 86n.

⁹ Zelenin, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

¹⁰ Kaindl, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹¹ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 81 n.

¹² *Idem*.

¹³ Kaindl, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹⁵ Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 232.

775 The earth, according to peasant belief, literally teems with spirits of all sorts. Aside from Satan and his demons, however, these are mainly the ghosts of unclean persons more or less recently deceased. Some are exceedingly malevolent and harmful; others are less so, but none are beneficial to man.

Among the most dangerous of supernatural beings are the vampires, the ghosts of deceased witches and wizards. Destructive even in life, they have been released by death from all earthly restraints, and their evil nature, now given full freedom, makes them the most feared element in the imaginary environment. Vampires are of both sexes; males are called *opyry* and females *widmy*. Their corpses are revived at night by the action of the moonbeams, for which reason they are most active during the full moon. Leaving their graves, they first turn their steps to their former homes, to visit their families. An *opyr* who is survived by a widow is said to have intercourse with her. He may even beget offspring in this way, but they are born without bones. A *widma*, on the other hand, is innately modest, and is satisfied to turn loving eyes upon her husband or sweetheart. After visiting their homes, the vampires wander about the houses in the vicinity, rattling the doors and windows and even calling the occupants by name. Sometimes they enter a house by crawling under the door. Once inside, they fasten themselves on the chest of a sleeper and suck his warm blood, before hurrying back to their graves. Vampires usually wander for nine consecutive nights. Besides the harm they do to individuals, they send pestilences upon the village and cause excesses in natural phenomena.¹⁶

Much less harmful, as well as more restricted in their sphere of activities, are the ghosts of ordinary sinners

113 ¹⁶ Wagilewicz, J. "O upiorach i wiedźmach", *Časopis českého museum* (Quoted by O. Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 209, 211).

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775 (*pokutnyky*) and those of persons who have died a violent death. They occupy themselves mainly with praying to God on moonlit nights in front of the church, and with frightening people.¹⁷ Some of them, however, are definitely malignant, especially the ghosts of drowned persons (*topelnyky*). Such ghosts are doomed to roam the earth for seven years. They live in the water, usually near the spot where they met their death, and, like the vampires, are especially active at the full moon.¹⁸ The appearance ascribed to them differs with the locality. Some picture the *topelnyk* as a little man with long hair which reaches to the ground and covers him completely; others describe him as completely covered with fish-like scales.¹⁹ The *topelnyky* are dangerous only to persons on the water, especially to those rowing in a boat. Since their redemption depends upon their success in drowning another person, they are always on the lookout for a victim.²⁰ In some places no peasant dares to go rowing on a Sunday or holiday, except to attend church or to call a priest or a doctor, under which circumstances the *topelnyky* have no power to harm.²¹

776 The waters also harbour *rusalky*, or nymphs, the ghosts of girls who have died before marriage. Their bodies are half human and half fish-like. They are not, as a rule, harmful, but spend their time singing, praying and telling stories.²² It is interesting to note that neither the *rusalky* nor the *topelnyky* are really water spirits, i.e. nature spirits, but rather human ghosts who inhabit the waters. This again emphasizes the fact that true nature spirits are almost completely lacking among the Ukrainians. Moreover, the *rusalky* frequently take up their abode in forest glades and

113 ¹⁷ Hnatiuk, V., "Znadoby do halicko-ruskoj demonologii," *Etno-graficznyj Zbirk* (L'viv, 1904), XV, 145.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, XV, 154.

¹⁹ Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 233.

²⁰ Szuchiewicz, W., *Huculszczyzna* (Lwów, 4 vols., 1902-8), IV, 283.

²¹ Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 233.

²² Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, IV, 282.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES RELATING TO BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD AMONG THE GALICIAN UKRAINIANS

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I. PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

PREGNANCY, to the Ukrainian peasant, is a phenomenon surrounded by mysterious forces which, if offended in any way, are sure to bring misfortune upon the expectant mother and her unborn child. A pregnant woman is treated with consideration, and is usually showered with wishes for an easy confinement. A person mistreating an expectant mother exposes himself and his household to harm.¹ In the belief that labour pains, especially acute ones, are not inevitable but are caused by evil powers,

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¹ *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, by G. R. Owst, Cambridge, 1933. P. 99. Reinfelden's Moralization is in MS. Egerton 2419.

² Kaendl, R. F., *Die Huzulen: Ihr Leben, ihre Sitten, und ihre Volksüberlieferung* (Wien, 1894), p. 4.

Collectanea

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843 the Ukrainian peasant woman keeps her pregnancy as secret as
 784 possible. The Devil and persons with supernatural powers will
 789 thus be kept in ignorance and, consequently, be prevented from
 interfering in any way with her accouchement.² The expectant
 mother therefore avoids mentioning her condition to any one
 except the midwife. A husband, for the same reason, dislikes to
 speak of his wife's pregnancy.³ Some women, especially among
 the mountaineers (*hutzuls*), even wind about themselves a broad
 strip of woollen bandage, in order to hide their condition. So
 tightly is the bandage wrapped that it has a definite effect upon
 the child, which is usually very small at birth; in order to assure
 its normal development the midwife, upon delivering it, ex-
 claims: "Now grow!"⁴

[847] A child is, as a rule, a welcome addition to the family. Hence
 an enceinte woman, legitimately married, rarely attempts abor-
 tion or infanticide.⁵ On the contrary, she is greatly concerned to
 give birth to a healthy child, and in order to assure herself of this,
 she cautiously watches nearly every step she takes and strictly
 observes a variety of taboos. The precautions and taboos, both
 before and after birth, are based in most cases on the belief that
 things or actions produce similar results. In other words; certain
 objects that the pregnant woman may see or touch, certain
 foods that she may eat, and certain phenomena that she may
 observe, hear, or feel, will register a corresponding effect upon
 her child. Wherever, therefore, the consequences are obviously
 undesirable, a pregnant woman tries to avoid doing or observing
 the thing in question, or, if this is impossible, to guard against
 them by certain means which are usually imitative in nature.
 A few examples follow.

[13] ² Kolberg, O., *Pokucie : Obraz Etnograficzny* (4 vols., Kraków, 1882-1889), i, 208.

³ *Idem*.

⁴ Szuchiewicz, W., *Huculszczyzna* (4 vols., Lwów, 1902-1908), ii, 2.

⁵ Unmarried girls, on the other hand, very often take steps to dispose of their unborn children. Cf. Koenig, S., "Marriage and the Family among the Galician Ukrainians," in *Studies in the Science of Society*, G. P. Murdock (Editor) (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 302-303.

843 If a pregnant woman looks fixedly at a person, or for that
 784 matter if he stares at her, her child will be pretty or the reverse,
 789 depending on that person's appearance. She therefore tries not
 to look at or be seen by an ugly individual.⁶ She also avoids
 looking at a fisherman, lest her child will have a restless nature.⁷
 Neither must she watch a horse shaking its head, or her child
 will be constantly subject to similar behaviour.⁸ If, on the other
 hand, she happens to see a galloping steed, her pregnancy will
 last twelve months.⁹ Upon observing a mouse, an expectant
 mother must spit and touch her abdomen; otherwise her child
 will be born with a mark resembling a mouse on its body. A
 fire in the village may have a similar effect; if a woman is
 frightened by it and does not spit immediately, her unborn
 child will have the mark of a flame on its body. Should a preg-
 nant woman eat an apple at the approach of her confinement,
 warts are likely to appear on the face of her child;¹⁰ and if
 the apple be a stolen one, the child will grow up to be a
 thief.¹¹

843 Definite signs enable one to predict the sex of an unborn child.
 If the prospective mother eats her meals with a good appetite,
 for example, it is a sign that she will have a boy; otherwise
 her child will be a girl. According to another indication, if the
 woman is to have a boy large spots appear on her face before
 her confinement, but if her face remains smooth and white
 844 she is sure to have a girl.¹² The destiny of the child, and even
 777 of the parents, can be foretold from certain omens. If birth
 787 occurs around noon the child is destined to be unfortunate,
 while a baby born at daybreak will be lucky.¹³ The crowing of
 a cock during birth is a bad omen. The birth of twins presages
 disaster, e.g., the imminent death of one of the parents or the

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⁶ Kolessa, J., "Narodziny i chrzciny, wesele i pogrzeb u ludu ruskiego," *Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej*, xii (Kraków, 1889) 117; Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

⁷ Kaindl, *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸ Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 117.

⁹ Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

¹⁰ Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 1.

¹¹ Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

¹² Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 174.

¹³ Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

844 impoverishment and consequent ruin of the homestead.¹⁴ Ac-
 777 cording to another version, the birth of twins or triplets is a
 787 general punishment from God.¹⁵ Since eating two potatoes,
 two apples, or two plums would result in her having twins, a
 pregnant woman is most careful to abstain therefrom.¹⁶ A
 child born before the ninth month indicates that the woman
 has been unfaithful to her husband.¹⁷

843 The Ukrainian peasant woman, as a rule, goes about her daily
 844 tasks uninterruptedly until the very onset of labour pains. The
 mountaineer woman in particular, owing to her robustness,
 seems to give birth with an unusual ease and unconcern. Be-
 sides attending to her routine work in the house, she is occupied
 at a period very close to her confinement with such work as
 milking cows, constructing fences, and pitching hay. Only a
 woman who is constitutionally weak takes to bed when she feels
 that her accouchement is not far off. Others often deliver their
 babies wherever they happen to be at the time—in the barn
 milking, in the field, or anywhere else. Sometimes a woman goes
 up to the attic, and after a few moments hands her baby down
 to someone below and then climbs down after it.¹⁸ Women have
 even been known to return from market with a newborn baby
 in their arms and a sack full of purchased articles on their backs.
 In order to avoid leaving blood spots behind her in case she
 delivers her baby outside of the home, a woman who expects
 to give birth at any moment often puts on a pair of men's
 trousers under her dress when leaving the house.

844 Birth itself is surrounded by a mass of practices, again mostly
 imitative in nature, which are concerned rather with the well-
 being of the infant than with preserving the health of the
 mother.¹⁹ When the hour of confinement arrives the husband
 repairs to call the midwife (*baba*), who is usually a woman with

• [113] ¹⁴ Kolessa, J., "Ludowy wirawania na pidhirju," *Etnograficzny Zbirnyk*, v (Lwów, 1898), 83.

¹⁵ Kaendl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 5.

¹⁶ Kolessa, in *Etnograficzny Zbirnyk*, v, 83.

¹⁷ Kaendl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 4.

¹⁸ Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 2.

¹⁹ Vowk, C., *Studii z Ukrainshoi Etnografii ta Antropologii* (Prahá, n.d.), p. 188.

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bed, a knife and some keys, because iron has the power to drive away evil forces.²⁴

A precaution never forgotten is to light a candle immediately after the delivery; otherwise the baby, not being baptized as yet, would surely be harmed by lurking evil forces. Under no circumstances must the light be extinguished, at least not until holy water is obtained from the priest and sprinkled over the mother, the baby, and the entire room.²⁵ Besides this essential precaution, a multitude of other means are taken to protect the child and assure its healthy growth. As soon as possible after birth, for example, there is tied to the right wrist of the infant a little sack, called *szkalytocska*, which contains the following articles: a piece of garlic—to make the child as sharp as this vegetable; a piece of clay from the oven—to make it as immune to the evil eye as is the oven; a piece of coal—to make the eyes of whoever casts upon it an evil glance burn like coal; some dust from the tracks of a dog—so that people will stare at it no more than they do at a dog's tracks. A small wooden cross is likewise hung on the infant's neck.²⁶ A mother must not turn her back upon her baby lest it turn yellow,²⁷ or be taken by a superhuman woman, the *diwa-baba*,²⁸ in exchange for a brat of hers. Nothing in the house may be given away on the day of birth, or the child will be given to sleeplessness. Whoever takes a glance at a newborn infant must spit immediately—to make sure that the child has not been bewitched.²⁹ Throughout the first night, some member of the family must keep watch, so that nothing may befall the child.³⁰

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A person's destiny, it is believed, is determined immediately upon his birth, at which moment twelve invisible judges convene on the window-sill near the table. Eleven of them pronounce

²⁴ *Idem*.

²⁵ Kaindl, *Die Hurulen*, p. 5.

²⁶ Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 4.

²⁷ Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 118.

²⁸ Regarding the nature of this mysterious woman, see Koenig, S., "Supernatural Beliefs among the Galician Ukrainians," *Folk-Lore*, xlix (Sept. 1938), 274.

²⁹ Kaindl, *Die Hurulen*, pp. 4-5.

³⁰ Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 118.

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777 various prophecies as to the future of the child, but final decision rests with the oldest, whose judgment prevails. These same judges grant the child a star, which shines only so long as he lives; upon his death it falls to earth. Every person at birth [777] likewise receives a guardian angel, whose duty it is to protect him throughout his life. Before starting any new task, and especially when in danger, the peasant calls upon his ministering angel for assistance, saying: "Guardian angel, help me!"²¹ Since one's fate is determined at birth, one can do little to change it. This explains, in the popular mind, why one man is poor and another rich, one healthy and another sick, why one lives long and another dies young. It also explains why there are all kinds of children in the world, and why even children of the same parents often differ so markedly.²²

845 A deformed or mentally deficient child is ascribed to the act of an evil spirit, particularly the *diwa-baba*. Such a child has 732 a large head, is always lean, and can never be satiated. With his tremendous appetite he suckles so ravenously that his mother's breast finally withers away. Such a child causes constant trouble, is retarded in its growth and short-lived, and does not reach a stature commensurate with his age until after death.²³

II. CHRISTENING CEREMONIES

851 While great secrecy surrounds pregnancy and birth, the 553 ceremonies that follow are ushered in with the greatest publicity. As soon as she has attended to the child and the mother, the midwife begins to make preparations for the christening (*chrestyn*), which must take place immediately. A child who is [777] allowed to remain unbaptized over night is exposed to all sorts of dangers. If at all possible, therefore, an infant is taken to church to be baptized on the very day it is born, even though the hour be late in the evening, the weather extremely unfavourable, and the distance considerable.²⁴ While the father, who takes

[113] ²¹ Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 5.

²² Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 287.

²³ Kaindl, R. F., "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi (Braunschweig, 1899), 256.

²⁴ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 113; Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 6.

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851 *While the father, who takes*
 608 a passive part throughout the ceremony,³⁵ busies himself with
 553 supplying the assembled guests with drinks, the *baba* repairs to
 the village to invite the godparents (*kumy*) to the christening.

The number of men and women asked to act in this capacity ranges from a single couple to as many as fifteen, depending upon the wealth and social status of the parents. The most desirable godparents are the couple who acted as best man and
 851 maid of honour at the wedding of the parents.³⁶ A pregnant
 608 woman, too, is considered a most acceptable godmother, for a
 784 child held during baptism by such a woman is assured of good
 777 luck. An enceinte woman, however, seldom consents to play the rôle, since her own child may be harmed thereby.³⁷ The wealthier and more prominent the godparents, the more desirable they are. If the parents have been unfortunate in rearing children, however, they invite a couple of wandering beggars to act as godparents and treat them with the greatest of courtesy. This, it is asserted, will change the luck of the parents, and will make the child grow and be healthy.³⁸ For two women to reciprocate as godmothers is considered not only unwise but a downright sin.³⁹ Near neighbours, too, make anything but good godparents. Since the two families live in close contact, it is almost inevitable that a quarrel shall sometime arise between them, and tradition as well as propriety strongly disapproves of unfriendly relations with one's *kumy*.⁴⁰ Contrary to what one might expect, for a gypsy to hold a child at baptism is supposed to bring it good luck, especially in trade and horse-raising.⁴¹

851 The midwife approaches the people selected as godparents
 408 with these words: "May God grant you health! The mother
 553 of the baby has sent me to ask you to do her the favour of holding her child during baptism." If they agree to undertake the function, they either follow her to the house a little later or else promise to meet her in the church at a designated hour.

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³⁵ According to D. Zelenin, *Russische (Ostslavische) Volkskunde* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), p. 295, the passivity may be explained by the fact that he is, like his wife, considered unclean.

³⁶ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 208-211.

³⁷ Kaendl, *Die Hurulen*, p. o.

³⁸ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 210.

³⁹ *Idem*.

⁴⁰ Kaendl, *Die Hurulen*, p. 6.

⁴¹ *Idem*.

851 Upon returning home, she swathes the baby and takes a piece
553 of bread and a knife, but does not leave the house until the mother has wiped the infant with her shirt to protect it from the evil eye. On the doorstep the *baba* makes the sign of the cross over the child, and sometimes another woman sprinkles it with holy water. The same procedure is repeated on the other side of the door. Here, however, the midwife sticks her knife into the door, and leaves it for some member of the household to remove later.⁴³

If the godparents have come to the house, they follow the midwife, each carrying a long piece of linen (*krytmo*) and a candle, while the father bears a hen, two loaves of bread, and a "head" of salt as a present for the priest. At the church, all kneel down while some of the godparents remove the swaddling clothes and two others hold the sides of the *krytmo* on which the infant is placed. The priest, after lighting the candles and handing them back to the participants, reads a prayer, then turns to them and repeats thrice the question: "Do you renounce the evil spirit?" To this, the *baba* and the godparents, turning their heads to the door, reply: "We renounce!" The priest next asks them: "Are you willing to serve God and Jesus Christ?" Each godparent then hands over to the priest his piece of linen, which later becomes the property of the child. After these preliminaries comes the actual christening, which differs little from the usual Catholic ceremony. The name given the child is usually that of the saint who presides over that particular day. For boys, the most popular names are Iwan, Hryć, Hawryło, Nykola, Michajło, and Petro; for girls, Maryja, Katerina, Hanna, and Paraska.⁴³ Children, even twins, are usually baptized in church; only in the case of triplets does the priest go to the house of the parents to perform the ceremony. Among the highlanders, it is believed that a widowed priest who learns of the birth of triplets, and goes voluntarily to the house, is allowed to remarry.⁴⁴ After the ceremony the sexton extin-

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⁴³ Kolberg, *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 49; Kolessa, in *Zbiór Wiad. do Antr. Kraj.*, xiii, 118.

⁴⁴ Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, pp. 49-50; *Pokucie*, i, 209.

⁴⁵ Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, ii, 6; ordinarily a uniate priest is allowed to marry only once—prior to his being ordained.

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851/553 guishes the candles, appropriates half of them himself, and returns the rest to the participants, who must light them again in the room where the mother is confined.⁴⁵ If the candles are not easily extinguished, it is a sign that the baptized child will have a long life.⁴⁶

851/574 In some localities the godparents leave immediately after the close of the ceremony for the house of the parents, where a festive dinner is served; in most places, however, they return to their homes and go to the party in the evening.⁴⁷ The midwife, upon her return, greets the mother with these words: "You have given us the child born; we, however, return it to you sacrificed and baptized." She then places the infant on a black fur coat (*kozuch*), which is thought to bring luck, and hands it over on the coat to the mother.⁴⁸

[777] At the christening dinner the father again plays a most inconspicuous rôle, the midwife and the godparents being the principal actors. Each guest brings presents of foodstuffs, chiefly beans, peas, eggs, cheese, salt, and bread. After a flood of greetings and congratulations, the women give their presents to the mother, placing them on her bed, while the men hand their gifts, usually loaves of bread, to the father.⁴⁹

[431] After these preliminaries, the guests seat themselves at the table. The master of the house serves each of them with a drink of whisky, and the midwife or the cook places before each an appetizer consisting of a piece of meat or another delicacy. The courses served at this meal are as numerous and elaborate as those of a wedding dinner. They usually include meat with gravy, *holubci* (grouts enveloped in cabbage leaves), *pirohy* (potatoes or grouts enveloped in dough), sour cream, *borsacz* (beet soup); and many other dishes, depending, of course, upon the economic status of the parents. Whisky is lavishly provided, and each guest offers a toast before every drink. It is interesting to note that, if the baby be a boy, the godparents,

⁴⁵ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 209.

⁴⁶ Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 6.

⁴⁷ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 209.

⁴⁸ Jandaurek, J., *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien und das Herzogtum Bukowina* (Wien, 1884), p. 62.

⁴⁹ Kolberg, *Pokucie*, i, 210.

• [113] * [christening -- Analyst]

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Before the age of twelve or thirteen, boys and girls rarely ever play together or have any other contact with each other. Whenever children are seen at play, a strict separation of the sexes is noticed. This is not the result of any special instruction on the part of the parents, and still less the outcome of imitation. Besides their different spheres of interest, the boys manifest a certain pride and self-consciousness which causes them to band together, leaving the girls to themselves. With puberty, however, boys and girls mix freely and seek each other's company. Peasant children scarcely recognize any distinction between rich and poor; the sons and daughters of the wealthy associate with those of the poor without consciousness of superiority or inferiority on either side.⁷¹

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The philosophy of parents with regard to the training of their children, in so far as they can be said to have one, is summed up in the following proverbial expressions: "The granting of freedom to children means the constraint of the parents";⁷² or, "Give the children freedom and you will find yourself in slavery."⁷³ Other examples of folk wisdom reveal a similar attitude: "A child will not grow up without a rod." "Do not give in to a child." "Love your child with your heart and drive it with your hands."⁷⁴ "Love your child like your soul, and shake it like the pear tree."⁷⁵ The burden of rearing children, although actually not very heavy, is, nevertheless, a source of complaint and finds expression in proverbs, e.g., "To feed a child is like carrying a rock." "Small children don't let you sleep, and big ones don't let you live." "Whoever has no children does not know what trouble is."⁷⁶ Other proverbs reflect an opposite attitude towards children: "A mother of ten is a joy."⁷⁷ "If God grants children, He will provide for them."⁷⁸

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⁷¹ Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, pp. 8-9.⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 8.⁷³ Franko, I., "Halicko-ruski narodni prypowidky," *Etnograficzny Zbirnyk* (vols. xvi, xxiii-xxiv, Lwów, 1905-1908), xvi, 562.⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 563-564.⁷⁵ Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 8.⁷⁶ Franko, *op. cit.*, pp. 564, 600.⁷⁷ Kolberg, *Pohucie*, iii, 179.⁷⁸ Franko, *op. cit.*, p. 598.